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I.—THE STELE INSCRIPTION IN THE ROMAN FORUM.

II.

The first inscription on the Stele, although occupying more lines, nine as against seven, including *loiquiod*, has fewer letters preserved, approximately 56 as against 64. It is accordingly more perplexing and I confess that I feel less confidence in the supplements, which I am about to propose. In fact my main purpose has been to fit what remains into a plausible context, to determine the general character of the inscription. It would be foolish to claim certainty for the particular phrases which I have suggested, and indeed in some cases I myself have made alternative proposals. Skutsch¹ remarks that "die erste Seite sich vor den andern durch Regelmässigkeit und Schönheit der Züge auszeichnet". The first line has, without interpuncts, the letters QVOIHO followed by the first hasta of a letter which may be M or N. Comparetti would read, *Quoi honce*, but *Quoi hom* is more probable, as this would explain the lack of interpunctuation, *hom* being enclitic; cf. *quoiha* in l. 13.² *Hom* survives, according to the view now generally held, in *eccum* = *ecce hom*. We should be greatly helped in the interpretation of the inscription if we knew to what *hom* refers. Comparetti supplied *logom*, forgetting that the earlier form would be *stlokom*. Enmann proposed *terminom*, but scholars have found a difficulty in explaining how any ordinance concerning a *terminus* should be in place in this part of the forum or in connection with the tomb of Romulus.³ A very

¹ Vollmöller, Jber. Rom. Philol. VI 1, 454.

² Thurneysen, Rhein. Mus. 55, 485.

³ One does not need to believe in an actual Romulus to find it plausible that the reputed eponymous founder of the city should have a tomb in the forum, the

natural supplement would be *kíptom* = *cippum*. Greek inscriptions often contain definite directions for the setting up of one *στήλη*¹ or of several, and occasionally name the penalty to be incurred for any violation of the same. Thus, in an inscription of Rhodes of the third century B. C. (ZP. II, n. 145), provision is made for the erection of three *στάλαι* at different points. An interesting feature of this inscription is the formula near the end, *ὅτι δὲ καὶ τις παρὰ τὸν νόμον ποιήσῃ, τό τε ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ τέμενος καθαιρέτω καὶ ἐπιρεζέτω, ἢ ἐνοχος ἔστω τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ*. (Compare *sakros esed* and *loustratio*, which I read in l. 5). An inscription found near the village of Remoustapha in Messenia (ZP. II, n. 59) has at the end, *τὰν δὲ ῥήτρων ταύτων γράψαντες ἐν στάλῃ λιθίνῃ ἀνθέντω τοῖ βίδυιοι ὑπὸ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Δάματρος*. Compare Dessau 139 (Cenotaphium Pisanum), l. 29, *cípproque grandi secundum aram defixso hoc decretum cum superioribus decretis incidatur insculpaturve*. An inscription given by LeBas-Waddington, 1764 a (Oeoniae), contains these words: *ὅς ἂν τὴν στήλην ἀφανίσῃ ἢ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ*

old market-place. We find references to graves in the market-places of many Greek towns, of distinguished men, in some cases attended with divine honors; e. g., at Elaea, of Thersander (Paus. 9, 5, 14); at Amphipolis, of Brasidas as founder and preserver (Thuc. 5, 11); at Syracuse, of Timoleon (Plut., Tim. 39); at Elis, of Oxylyus as founder (Strabo 10, 463; cf. Paus. 6, 24, 9); at Mantinea, of Podares (Paus. 8, 9, 9); at Sicyon, of Aratus (Plut., Arat. 53, *τόπον ἐξελόμενοι περίοπτον ὥσπερ οἰκιστὴν καὶ σωτῆρα τῆς πόλεως ἐκήδευσαν καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ θυσίαν, τὴν μὲν, ἢ τὴν πόλιν ἀπῆλλαξε τῆς τυραννίδος ἡμέρα . . . καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἐκείνην Σωτήρια προσαγορεύουσι, τὴν δὲ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐν ᾧ γενέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα διαμνημονεύουσι. Τῆς μὲν οὖν προτέρας τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος κατήρχετο θυηπόλος*); at Megalopolis, of Philopoemen, attested by an insc., Dittenberger,³ 289 (*ιδρύσασθαι δὲ εἰς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς τὸ μνᾶμα καὶ κτίσαι μετὰ ταινίας τὰ ὅστέα καὶ βωμὸν κατασκευάσαι λευκόλιθον ὡς κάλλιστον καὶ βουθυτεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἀμέραις τῇ Διὶ Σωτῆρος*; so Ditt.). Perhaps the sacrifice of oxen to Juppiter Territor may have been connected in a similar way with the cult of Romulus. See also Roscher's Lex. I 2, col. 2516 ff., Die Heroisierung verstorbener Menschen; Rohde, Psyche³ I, p. 159 ff.; II, p. 350 ff.

¹ Compare Dittenberger³ 635 (Athens), l. 23, *ἀναγράψαι δὲ τότε τὸ ψήφισμα . . . ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Διονύσου*. Collitz-Bechtel 4530 (Laconia), l. 35, *ἀναγραφάντω . . . εἰς στάλῃν πετρίναν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος*. See also Athen. VI 27, *κὰν τῷ ἀνακείῳ ἐπὶ τινος στήλης γέγραπται 'τοῖν δὲ βοοῖν τοῖν ἡγεμόνοι τοῖν ἐξαίρουμένοι' (cf. *uxmenta karĩa*), τὸ μὲν τρίτον μέρος εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὰ δὲ δύο μέρη τὸ μὲν ἕτερον τῷ ἱερεῖ, τὸ δὲ τοῖς παρασίτοις*. It is not without interest to note that this inscription refers to the Dioscuri, whose worship, according to Helbig, was introduced very early in Rome, probably before the fifth century. With the cult probably came the *leges sacrae*.

γεγλυμμένα ἢ μετάρη αὐτήν, αὐτὸν ἐξώλη καὶ γένος αὐτοῦ.¹ An inscription from Olympia (Jahreshefte d. Oest. Arch. Inst., 1898, p. 197), closes with the words αἱ δὲ τινὲς ἀδεαλτώλαι ἐν τὰν στάλαν ὡς ἀγαματοφώραν εἶοντα πάσχην, which Szanto translates "Wenn aber jemand auf der Stele auslöscht, so soll er Strafe leiden wie ein Dieb von Götterbildern". Similarly, Dittenberger² 602 (Iasos), ἣν δὲ τις τὴν στήλην ἀφανίσῃ ἢ τὰ γράμματα, πασχέτω ὡς ἱερόσυλος.³ These two inscriptions have suggested to me a restoration to which I shall recur later, *Quoi hom . . . violasid patitod quam sei sakros esed*; but it must be granted that such a formula, if relating to the *cippus* itself, would be more in place at the end than at the beginning of an inscription.³ For this and for other reasons, which will appear later, it seems to me more probable that the inscription has to do with a sacred grove or a sacred tree. "The groves were God's first temples", says our American poet Bryant, and Pliny before him had written (N. H. 12, 1) "Haec fuere numinum templa priscoque ritu simplicia rura etiam nunc deo *praecellentem arborem* dicant, nec magis auro fulgentia atque ebore simulacra quam *lucos* et in his silentia ipsa adoramus". In the Liber Coloniarum (Lachmann, Grom. I, p. 241), under *Provincia Dalmatarum*, we read, "In quibus locis arbores intactae stare videntur, in his locis veteres sacrificium faciebant".⁴ The sacred

¹ This formula must be very old. Lehmann (Klio 3, 325) says of it, "Sie sind die wörtliche Uebersetzung der ständigen Fluch-formel der babylonisch-assyrischen wie der ihnen nachgebildeten vorarmenisch-chaldischen Keil-inschriften", referring also to Zeits. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch., 1902, p. 109, where he gives a translation of an inscription of Chaldea of the seventh century B. C., which I quote only in part, "wer diese Stele zerstört, wer sie beschädigt, wer ihren Standort verändert, wer sie mit Erde bedeckt, wer sie ins Wasser wirft, . . . die Götter mögen seinen Namen, seinen Samen, seine Nachkommen aus den Landen vertilgen". Compare Collitz-Bechtel 5632 (Teos) at the end, "Ὅς ἂν ταστήλας ἐν ἡμῶν ἡπαρὴ γέγραπται ἢ κατάξει ἢ φοινικία ἐκκόψει ἢ ἀφανέας ποιήσει, κείνον ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κείνον. Cf. Ziebarth, Der Fluch im griechischen Recht, Hermes 30, 57-70.

² Compare CIL. VI 29938, qui vendiderit sive titulum eraserit; VI 29913, 29923, and Wamser, De Iure Sepulcrali Romanorum quid tituli doceant, p. 30 ff.

³ That a piacular offering might be made in connection with the restoration of an inscription appears from CIL. X 8259, et scripturam tituli at pristinam formam restituere *piaculo prius* dato operis faciendi *ove atra*, but here there is reference to the removal of a tomb, and a piacular offering in connection with the violation of a grove is certainly much more probable in our inscription.

⁴ Cf. Livy 3, 25, 7; Ovid, Fasti, 3, 295.

groves¹ of Rome have been well treated by Giorgio Stara-Tedde (Bull. Arch. Comm. di Roma, 1905, 189-232). The number of such groves was great; and although we may not be able to prove the existence in the earliest period of a grove or sacred tree near the Stele, there is nothing to disprove it, and the existence of such a grove or tree in connection with a heroon is *a priori* most probable.² At the foot of the Capitol was the grove of Silvanus. Aust (Religion der Römer, p. 41) says, "Vielleicht waren auch die heiligen Bäume Roms, wie die alte Eiche auf dem Capitol, und der Feigenbaum, *Ficus Ruminalis*, auf dem Comitium, nur die letzten Zeugen eines reicheren heiligen Waldbestandes". Festus, p. 62, says, "Fagutal sacellum Iovis, in quo fagus arbor, quae Iovis sacra habebatur" (cf. Varro, L. L. V 49). For inscriptions in connection with such trees see Pliny (N. H. 16, 237), "Vetustior autem urbe in Vaticano ilex, in qua titulus aereis litteris Etruscis³ religione iam tum dignam fuisse significat". Possibly

¹ On the general subject of tree worship, besides the well-known work of Boetticher "Ueber den Baumkultus" see the article on *Arbores sacrae* in Daremberg-Saglio, Curtiss, Primitive Semitic Religion today (1902, p. 90 ff.); Winter, Die Birke im Volksliede der Letten (Arch. f. Relig., Wiss., II 16 ff.); Hirt, Die Indogermanen, p. 738 ff.; Rohde, Psyche³ I, p. 191.

² Whoever has read the articles of Boni, Hülsen, Pais, Studniczka, Pinza, Petersen, and others on the *lapis niger* and the various monuments associated with it, will know how little agreement has been reached among archaeologists as to the date of these objects. In the latest article known to me, Petersen (Roem. Mitteilungen 21, pp. 193-210, Comitium und Rostra) defends the position taken in his earlier work (Comitium, Rostra, Grab des Romulus, Rome, 1904), in which he claims that the Stele is older than the tomb in its present position. In his diagram, p. 10, the position of the earlier tomb (Grab I?) is marked by *a*, and is at quite a little distance from the present tomb (Grab II=E). But if the tomb was renewed, it is possible that the *cippus* was renewed too (see Studniczka Jahresh. d. Oest. Arch. Inst., 6, 155), and that its inscriptions were copied from an earlier *cippus*, perhaps already in a mutilated condition. Thus perhaps might be reconciled the view (e. g., of Pais) which puts the inscription in the fourth century, with the view which, on account of the language, puts it in the sixth or seventh century. It is to the earlier date that my contention for the sacred tree would apply.

³ Dionysius (IV 26) says of an old *στήλη* in the temple of Diana on the Aventine, "αὕτη διέμεινεν ἡ στήλη μέχρι τῆς ἡμῶν ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ κειμένη, γραμμάτων ἔχουσα χαρακτήρας, οἷς τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐχρήτο". Either Pliny's description or that of Dionysius might have been used of the Stele of which, in the first official notice, Gamurrini (Not. d. Scav., 1899, p. 159) says, "incisa in grandi lettere di forma arcaico-greca assai somigliante a quella delle più antiche iscrizioni etrusche dell' Etruria marittima".

then our inscription refers not to a *lucus*, but to a single tree, and in connection with the tomb of Romulus one naturally thinks of the *ficus* or *caprificus*. Pais goes so far as to say (*Storia di Roma*, p. 739), "Romolo non è, come da taluni si è pensato, un puro e vuoto 'eponimo', creato dagli antichi eruditi, ma una sol cosa con 'Iupiter Ruminus', Aug. d. c. d. VII 11, il dio onorato sotto forma di fico, analogo all' 'Iupiter Viminus' del Viminale Varro, L. L. V 51". While we cannot follow Pais here and elsewhere in his etymologies after the brilliant proof of Schulze (*Eigennamen* 580 ff.) that the names Roma and Romulus are of Etruscan origin, the importance of the *ficus* or *caprificus* in the legendary account of Romulus and the founding of Rome is not to be doubted. In the fresco discovered at Pompeii in 1903¹ the *ficus Ruminalis* appears, and according to Pais the *caprificus* is represented more than once in the landscape.² Of course it will be objected that *hom fikom* is impossible, as *ficus* is fem.; but there are not a few instances of *ficus* masc., and this may have been the original gender. Aufrecht (*Rhein. Mus.* 35, 320), in discussing *maritus*, which he derives from *mas*,³ says, "Um nur das grammatische im Auge zu behalten, scheint daraus zu folgen, dass weder *arbos* noch die Baumnamen der *o*- und *u*- Stämme ursprünglich im Lateinischen feminina sein konnten. Ausnahmen von der Regel giebt es ohnehin manche. Unser *Baum* blieb immer masculin, und im Skr. sind *vriksha*, *druma* und alle grossen

¹ See Not. d. Scavi, 1905, p. 93 ff.

² See Pais, *Ancient Legends of Roman History*, p. 47 ff., and for a more popular account, *The Century*, Vol. LXIX, p. 597 ff., with a color drawing after the original in the Naples Museum. On p. 601 Pais says, "The ancients considered the fig-tree but as a symbol of fruitfulness. A wild fig-tree, or, as the ancients called it, the *caprificus*, was present in nearly all the most sacred places of Rome, such as the Comitium, near the temple of Saturn, and at the Lacus Curtius. The shape of the fruit, and the milk which it gives, caused the ancients to apply to it the same name as that given to the breasts; namely, *ruma*. In its turn the conception that trees were sacred and animated by divinities caused the belief that the fig-tree at the base of the Lupercal was sacred to Jupiter Ruminus and to the pastoral goddess Rumina. All favors the belief that, just as there were cities in Latium called Ficana and Ficulea, so the most ancient community of the Palatine should have been called the city Rome from the sacred tree near the Lupercal and near the Porta Romanula".

³ Walde, *Et. Wtb.*, abandons this derivation of *maritus*, but it seems to be entirely adequate for *marita* (*vitis*) and was without doubt the popular etymology; cf. Isidorus, *Or.* 9, 7, 2. See Brugmann, *I. F.* 21, 315, *Die griechischen und italischen femininen Substantiva auf -os*.

Bäume gleichen Geschlechtes". I may add that *vaṭa*, the banyan, or Indian fig-tree, and *pippala*, the holy fig-tree, are masc.; and Max Müller (India, What It Can Teach Us, 1883, p. 50) says of modern India, "In most villages there is a sacred tree, a pipal-tree (*Ficus Indica*) . . . generally supposed to be occupied by one of the Hindu deities". In Greek *συκῆ* is fem.; but both *ἐπιτεός*,¹ and *τράγος* = *caprificus* (cf. Paus. 4, 20) are masc. *Arbor* in Latin is to be sure almost universally fem. The Thesaurus gives a few late exx. of the masc.,² and in CIL. XIII 1780 we find *aram et signum inter duos arbores* over against Pliny, N. H. 11, 83, *inter duas arbores*. Cato, Agr. 42, has *de eo fico* and Lucilius (198, Marx) has *primos ficos* of the fruit.³ I attach, however, especial importance to Macrobius, Sat. 3, 20, 3, "Tarquitius autem Priscus⁴ in Ostentario arborario sic ait:

arbores, quae inferum deorum avertentiumque
in tutela sunt, eas infelices nominant
alternum sanguinem filicem *ficum atrum*.⁵

In the same passage we have *pirum silvaticum*, although Varro, R. R. I 40, has *pirum silvaticam*. Paton, in a recent article (Rev. Arch., 1907, p. 52), speaking of caprification⁶ says, "The wild fig, although this is not a physiological fact,⁷ was regarded as the

¹ Conon in the passage cited later uses *ἐπιτεός* both as m. and f.

² Appel, De genere neutro intereunte in Lingua Latina, p. 40, gives later exx. of *arbor* masc. and shows that names of trees are masc. in the Romance languages. So *fico* is masc. in Italian and the French speak of *le figuier ruminal*; cf. Daremberg-Saglio, l. c., p. 357, where two medallions of Antoninus Pius are given showing the *ficus Ruminalis*. In foot-note 13 are given the passages in which there is reference to a sacred fig-tree in Rome.

³ For other exx. of *ficus*, the fruit, masc. see Neue³ I 936 and ALL. X 256. On the other hand *ficus tuae* occurs in a Pompeian insc., IV 1820; and *ficus innata* in the Acts of the Arval Brethren, CIL. VI 2099.

⁴ On Tarquitius Priscus see especially Thulin, Italische Sakrale Poesie und Prosa, p. i ff., and for this passage p. 71.

⁵ Hipponax, Frag. 34, Bergk, has *Συκὴν μέλαιναν, ἀμπέλου κασιγνήτην*.

⁶ Cf. Reitzenstein, Der Anfang des Lexikons des Photios, p. 137, ἀνηρίαστος *συκῆ*, where *ἐπιτεός* occurs as masc.

⁷ In direct opposition to this statement Hehn,⁷ Kulturpflanzen, p. 99 (cf. pp. 550 and 577), says, "Der sogenannte *Caprificus*, welcher sich vorzugsweise im wilden Zustande vorfindet, ist nicht, wie Graf Solms-Laubach anzunehmen geneigt war, die einzige wilde Urform der Kulturfeige, sondern er ist, wie Fritz Müller betonte und nachher Graf Solms (Bot. Zeitung, 1885, Nos. 33-36) bestätigte, die männliche Pflanze, die Essfeige, die weibliche Pflanze, welche in der Kultur weiter ausgebildet und fixiert wurde". Ramsay (Pauline and

male tree, the cultivated fig as the female. Helladius says the male Pharmakoi wore *black figs*, the female *white*". Frazer (Lectures on the early history of the Kingship, 1905, p. 270), discussing the *Nonae Caprotinae* and caprifigation, says, "The wild fig-tree is a male, and the cultivated fig-tree is a female"; (p. 272), "The association of the death of Romulus with the festival of the wild fig-tree can hardly be accidental, especially as he and his twin brother were said to have been suckled by the she-wolf under a fig-tree. The clue to the association is probably furnished by the old belief that the king is responsible for the fruits of the earth. We may conjecture that in like manner the Roman king was expected to make the fig-trees blossom and bear figs, and that, in order to do so, he went through a form of Sacred Marriage on the July day, when the husbandmen resorted to a more efficacious means of producing the same result". The term *ficus ruminalis* does not reveal its gender, but I must admit that in all the Latin versions of the legend, with the exception of some variants in Serv., Aen. 8, 90,¹ the adjectives and pronouns in agreement with it are feminine. Dionysius also, 3, 71, in the legend of Attus Navius, has πλησίον τῆς ἱερᾶς συκῆς. Plutarch, however, (Romulus 4) has Ἦν δὲ πλησίον ἐρινεὸς ὃν Ῥωμινάλιον ἐκάλουν, (Romulus 29) Καπρατῖναι μὲν αἱ νῶναι καλοῦνται διὰ τὸν ἐρινεὸν καπρίφικον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὀνομαζόμενον; cf. Plut., Camillus 33. Conon, c. 48 (cf. Rhein. Mus. 4, 529), evidently under the influence of Roman writers, has ἐρινεὸς both masc. and fem.: αὕτη (σκάφη) δὲ μετὰ πολλὴν φορὰν περὶ προῦχουσαν ἡὺν κατίσχεται ῥίζαις ἐρινεοῦ, ὃς μέγας ἐκείσε ἐπεφύκει, and a little further on, δείκνυνται δὲ μαρτυρία τῶν τότε παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐρινεὸς ἱερᾶ, τοῦ βουλευτηρίου κυκλίσαι χαλκαῖς περιειργομένη.² Pais (Storia di Sicilia, pp. 186 and 612) calls

other studies, p. 190) says, "The wild fig-tree, or male fig, is in appearance exactly like the fig-tree, so far as the ordinary person can detect. It very often grows on walls or stony places". How Pais is able to distinguish the *caprificus* from the *ficus* in the Pompeian fresco, I do not know.

¹ Thilo gives "*ficus ruminalis*, ad quam eiectioni sunt Remus et Romulus, quae (qui, ASM) fuit ubi nunc est lupercal in circo quamvis ficum Ruminalem alii a Romulo velint dictam (dictum, F).

² On the basis of this and other passages (cf. Livy 1, 36) Hülsen, *Formae Urbis Romae antiquae* (III A 1), has indicated the *ficus* by a tiny tree to the left of the steps of the Curia Hostilia. This, of course, does not make against the possibility of a *ficus* or *caprificus* existing 600 or 500 B. C. near the site of the Stele. A *caprificus* might spring up anywhere; cf. Hor., *Epod.* 5, 17, *sepulcris caprificos erutas*; Propertius 4, 5, 74; and Mayor's note on *Juv.* 10, 144.

attention to the fact that both the founding of Tarentum (Diodorus 8, 21) and that of Rhegium (Dionysius 19, 2) are connected in legend with a *caprificus*. In the former passage *τράγος* is used; in the latter, where there is reference to the union of vine and fig-tree, we have the words ἄρρενα δὲ τὸν ἐρινεόν. As we have evidence for *ficus* masc., I see no reason why *caprificus* should not have been masc. in the earliest Latinity; cf. *oleaster* masc. and *pirus silvaticus* cited above. *Caprificus* is not found in Plautus, Ennius, Cato or Varro R. R. In Terence, Ad. 577, where it first appears, it is fem.; and there Donatus refers to Il. VI 433, where we have παρ' ἐρινεόν. Evans, on "Mycenaean¹ Tree and Pillar Cult" (Jour. of Hell. Stud. 21, p. 128), discussing the *Ficus Ruminalis*, says, "But there is nevertheless some interesting evidence that Rome herself was indebted to prehistoric Greece for some of the oldest elements of her religion;" and again, "The Sacred Fig-Tree in fact is in a very different case from the beech of Fagutalis, the oak of Feretrius, or the cornel of Quirinus, the cult of which may well have been brought with them by the Latin immigrants from the north of the Apennines. The sanctity of the fig-tree belongs essentially to the more southern Mediterranean climes. It was, as has been shown above, a sacred tree of the Mycenaean world; and its veneration was preserved to historic times on Laconian and Attic soil. At Rome too we find it traditionally connected with the most primitive element of Greece".² Wissowa, discussing Baumkultus in Pauly, col. 166, says, "Die Sitte, Bäume um das Grab zu pflanzen, ist uralt und schon durch Homer, Il. VI 419, bezeugt,³ . . . und findet sich noch heute in Griechenland und in Kleinasien, namentlich bei den Gräbern von vornehmen Türken oder mohamedanischen Heiligen". A writer in Folk Lore (XVII, 1906, p. 199), speaking of Egypt, says, "The Shêkh's tomb generally has a tree standing by the side of it, as the sacred tree stood beside the chapel of the local deity in the Egypt of the Pharaohs". Ramsay (Pauline and other Studies, p. 173), speaking of Asia Minor, says, "The tree nearest the spring

¹Cf. also Karo, Altkretische Kultstätten, Arch. f. Relig. Wiss. 7, 142 ff.

²The parallels which he then gives to the fabled suckling of the twins are interesting but I have not room to quote them. It may of course be urged that all these legends are late inventions.

³Keil (Rhein. Mus. 17, 67), discussing the spurious Calchas inscription, quotes the scholion of Tzetzes to Lycophron 980, ὁ Κάλχας αὐτοῦ κατεγέλα ὄθεν ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Ἡρακλῆς πατάξας αὐτὸν κονδύλῳ ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἔθαψε περὶ τὸν ἐρινεόν.

is hung with patches of rag, fastened to it by modern devotees. The peasants' language is as poor as their ritual. If you ask them why they hang their rags on the tree, the one explanation is '*dede var*', 'there is a dede'. There can be little doubt that the idea of the sacred tree is older than the sculpture. *Dede* = 'father of the tribe or settlement'. With this primitive custom still preserved, may we not compare Romulus, the father of the settlement, and his sacred tree, the *figus*?¹

Pais (Ancient Legends, p. 34) says, "That the abyss of the *Lacus Curtius* extended toward the Volcanal and the *niger lapis* is deducible, I think, from the fact that Curtius was supposed to have precipitated himself into the abyss by starting from the temple of Concord, which overlooked the Volcanal and the Comitium". Again, on p. 283, "I think I have demonstrated that the marsh called Caprea was originally situated in the Roman Forum, where the *Caprificus*, or wild fig-tree, was, near the *puteal* of Navius and the tomb of Romulus. See my *Storia di Roma* I 2, p. 741. Indeed, as I have stated in the chapter on the 'Origins of Rome', all the evidence favors the belief that the *palus Caprea* was at the foot of the *figus Ruminalis*; that is, in the Velabrum Maius".² I would then propose to read, tentatively, *Quoi hom (honke?) kaprifikom violasid* or, if one prefer, *loukom*. The form *loukom* is required by the Osc. *livkei* and by the Lex Spoletiana (Dessau 4911), which I quote here entire for convenience of reference, "honce loucom ne qu[i]s violatod, neque exvehito neque exferito quod louci siet, neque cedito, nesei quo die res deina anua fiet; eod die, quod rei dinai cau[s]a [f]iat, sine dolo cedre [l]icetod. Sei quis violasit, Iove bovid piaculum datod; sei quis scies violasit dolo malo, Iovei bovid piaculum datod et a. CCC moltai suntod. Eius piaculi moltaique dicator[ei] exactio est[od]".

¹ For graves planted with trees see Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, p. 260 ff.; Rohde, *Psyche*,³ I 230.

² I need hardly say that this view does not accord with Hülsen, *Das Forum Romanum*. All that I am anxious to prove is the natural association of some *figus* or *caprificus* with the tomb of Romulus. The tree itself may have disappeared early, perhaps at the time of the Gallic invasion, and left no record of itself in literature. The *figus Ruminalis* was represented on the Ara Pacis (Not. d. Scavi, 1903, p. 553). A sacred fig-tree, not the *Ruminalis*, is represented on one of the balustrades of the Forum (Platner, *Topography of Ancient Rome*, p. 250; Hülsen, *Forum*, p. 88; see also p. 157, the relief of the temple of Vesta in the Uffizi, Florence).

The law against digging up olive trees in Athens is given by Pseudo-Demosthenes against Macartatus (1074).¹ Many Greek inscriptions give the penalties attaching to the violation of a sacred grove.² So PZ. II, n. 58 (Andania, about 90 B. C.), § 15, μηδεὶς κοπτέτω ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τόπου· ἂν δέ τις ἀλῶι, ὁ μὲν δοῦλος μαστιγοῦσθω ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν, ὁ δὲ ἐλεύθερος ἀποτεισάτω ὅσον καὶ οἱ ἱεροὶ ἐπικρίνωσι; PZ. II, n. 34 (Attica, fourth cent. B. C.), μὴ κόπτειν τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος μηδὲ φέρειν ξύλα μηδὲ κοῦρον μηδὲ φρύγανα μηδὲ φυλλόβολα ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, followed by different penalties for slave and free man; PZ. II, n. 81, l. 11 ff., μηδὲ τῶν ἐνδημούντων ξένων δένδρα κόπτειν ἐν τῷ διασαφουμένῳ τόπῳ μηδὲ κολουεῖν (Ziehen renders κολουεῖν by *violare*). See also ZP. II, n. 87, n. 107, and n. 153; Dittenberger³ 929, l. 82; Collitz-Bechtel 4629, l. 128, αἱ δὲ τίς καὶ ἐπιβῇ ἢ νέμει ἢ φέρει τι τῶν ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ γαίῃ ἢ τῶν δενδρέων τι κόπτῃ, etc.; cf. Collitz-Bechtel 5027. *Violare* is supported, not only by the Lex. Spolet., but by the following passages: Paulus, p. 46, Capitalis *lucus*, ubi si quid *violatum est*, caput *violatoris* expiatur; Ovid, Met. 8, 741,

Ille etiam Cereale nemus *violasse* securi
Dicitur, et lucos ferro temerasse vetustos.

Cicero, pro Rabirio 7; Ovid, Fasti 4, 649, Silva vetus nullaue diu *violata* securi; Livy 29, 18, 18, Sed et nunc et saepe alias dea suam sedem suumque templum aut tutata est, aut a *violatoribus* gravia piacula exegit. *Violare*³ is especially common in sepulchral inscriptions. Compare CIL. I 1081 and 1241, VI 29913, V 7475; Dessau 8177, 8178, 8184, 8197, quicumque *violaverit* sive inmutaverit, sentiat iratos semper sibi. *Violavesit* might be read if space demanded, but *violasit* is supported by the Lex Spoletiana.

Pliny, N. H. 17, 267, says of Cato, "Idem arbores religiosas lucosque succidi permisit *sacrificio prius facto* cuius rationem precationemque eodem volumine tradidit". The passage referred to is Agr. 139, Lucum *conlucare* Romano more sic oportet, *porco piaculo* facito, sic verba concipito, 'si deus, si dea es, quoum illud sacrum est, uti tibi ius est, *porco piaculo* facere, illiusce sacri coercendi ergo harumque rerum ergo, sive ego, sive quis iussu meo fecerit, uti id recte factum siet, eius rei ergo te hoc *porco piaculo inmolando* bonas preces precor, uti sies volens propitius

¹ Cf. also Paus. 2, 28, 7.

² Recently Hasluck has published a unique inscription from Cyzicus (Journ. Hell. Stud., 1907, p. 66), 'Ιούλιος Πρεῖσιος παραγγέλλει πᾶσι τοῖς τὴν λευκέαν κόπτουσιν [δοῖναι?] θηνάρην καὶ . . .

³ Accordingly one might read, *hom tumolom violasit* or *hom stlokom violasit*.

mihi domo familiaeque meae liberisque meis, harumce rerum ergo macte hoc *porco piaculo immolando* esto'.¹ The Acts of the Arval Brethren² are full of references to expiatory sacrifices (often prospective) made necessary by the felling of trees, or the removal of trees which had fallen through decay or been struck by lightning. In the earliest inscription (CIL. VI 2023) preserved of the year 14 A. D. we have these words, as restored by Henzen: "*cum arbor vetustate in luco deae Diae cecidisset, ut ad sacrificium consumeretur neve quid ligni exportaretur*". Reference to a piacular sacrifice is first made for the year 38, April 18 (2028), "*ob ramum vetustate delapsus in luco deae Diae sacrificium piacularare fecit ramumque exportari iussit*". Similarly in 2029 (39 A. D.), 2053 (72), *piaculum* factum in luco deae Diae ob arborem quae a tempestate deciderat *per calatorem et publicos*; 2054 (75), 2059 (80), 2060 (81), 2065 (87), l. 20, *porcas piaculares* duas luco coinquendi et operis faciendi immolavit; and again, l. 55, quod ramus ex arbore ilicina ob vetustatem deciderit *piaculum factum est per calatorem et publicos*; cf. l. 65; 2066 (89), 2067 (90 and 91), 2068 (91 and 92), 2074 (101), 2075 (105), 2076 (117), 2078 (118), 2079 (119), 2080 (120), 2082 (125), 2083 (130), 32379 (145), 2086 (155 and 213), 2095 and 2096 (anni incerti), 2099 (183), quod in fastigio aedis deae Diae *ficus innata* esset, eruendam et aedem reficiendam, immolavit *suovetaurilibus maioribus*; also May 19, *porciliis piaculares* II luci coinquendi, etc.; and 184 A. D., May 18, 2104 (218), 2105 (221), 2107 (224), 2110 and 2116 (an. incert.).

In 2104 (218 A. D.), the same inscription which contains the Carmen Arvale, we find "Item IIII Kal(endas) Iunias in luco deae Diae Alfenius Avitianus promag(ister) ad aram immol(avit) porcil(ias) piacul(ares) II luci coinq(uiendi) et operis faciund(i); ibi vacc(am) honorar(iam) imm(olavit) et inde in tetrastilo revers(us) subsellis consed(it). Deinde reversus ad aram *extas* reddidit *porcilar(es)*. Item in circo in foculo arg(enteo) cespiti ornato *extam vacc(inam) redd(idit)*. In 2105, of 221 A. D., we have *piaculum factum* . . . in luco deae Diae ob ferri inlatione scripturae et sculpturae marmoris per Fl(avium) Archelaum c(larissimum) v(irum) fratrem Arval(em) et public(os) et a sacris, *porcam piacular(em)* struibus fertis et agnam, quorum *extae redditae* sunt. In 2107, of 224 A. D., ob ferri inlationem scriptur(ae)

¹ For a translation of this passage into Italian see De Marchi, *Il Culto Privato di Roma Antica* I, p. 132.

² Cf. Weisweiler, *JJ.* 139, p. 39 ff.

et scalptur(ae) marmor(is) causa immol(ante) ipso mag(istro) porcam et agnam struib(us) et fertis et *extas reddidit* ad aram. We have thus four examples of *extae* used as fem.¹ In the protocol of the year 87 (VI 2065) we have *exta aulicocta*² *reddidit*. The neut. *exta* and the fem. *extae* may both go back to an early period; cf. *serta* and *sertae*, *arva* and *arvas* (Naevius). With *extae* = *exsectae* we may supply *carnes*³ or *partes*.⁴ For *exta* cf. Seneca, Medea 733, *exsecta vivae viscera*; for the variation in gender, *prosciae* and *proscium* (Paulus, p. 282), quod praesecatū proicitur. That the fem. was in use is shown also by Placidus (CGL. V 67, 28), *Extorum intestinorum, extorum dicere debemus non extarum*. Compare also the gloss (V 21, 23 and 67, 23), *exte: esse = extae: escae*.⁵ Outside of the Acts of the Arval Brethren, in inscriptions as in literature, *exta* seems to be used; cf. II 2395, *exta intra quadrata contra cremantur*; but it is not found in the index to the first volume of the Corpus. I propose to read, in l. 4, *extas porcil IASIAS = porciliarias = porciliares*, just as Enmann proposed *familiarias = familiares*. For the early use of *-arius* for *-aris* see Lindsay's note on Captivi 96, "The suffix *-arius* was much in vogue in early Latin, though later it was often supplanted by *-aris*". For the inscriptional use of *-arius* and *-aris* see Olcott, Studies in the Word-formation of the Latin Inscriptions, p. 183.⁶

¹ It is worthy of note that the protocol containing the Carmen Arvale, in which *extae* first occurs, contains other forms not found elsewhere; e. g., *lumemulia*, explained by Buecheler (ALL. I 109); *sumpui*, defended by Brinkmann (ALL. XV 142).

² Paulus, p. 17, has *aulicocia*, which may be correct, containing *coquia*, a verbal adjective like *loquios* (cf. *lumemulia*). Plautus, Stich 251, has *exta cocta*. According to Johannes Schmidt the n. pl. *exta* might originally have been a collective fem. sg.; cf. Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 400. I of course am aware that there are many cases of a late change to fem. sg. from n. pl.; cf. ALL. 13, 467.

³ For *carnes* = *partes* cf. Walde, Et. Wtb.; Buecheler, Rhein. Mus. 38, 479, and ALL. I, 104.

⁴ Compare the gloss CGL. V 197, 1, *exta mediae pecudum partes*.

⁵ But see ALL. I, 115 and VI 277.

⁶ Cicero uses *volgaris*, but *volgarius* is found in earlier writers. In a phrase like pro Quinct. 56, *volgaria et obsoleta sunt*, *volgaria* might come from *volgaris* or *volgarius*; and confusion may have arisen in this way. It is not necessary to assume for every case a shortening of *-arius* to *-aris*; cf. Mohl, Chronologie du latin vulgaire, p. 285, and Neue³ Formenlehre 2, 158 ff.

The use of the pig as an expiatory offering, and to chthonic deities, is common to both the Greeks and the Romans. In a poem ("Contra clericos inhertes et desides") quoted by Usener (Rhein. Mus. 24, 391), occur the amusing lines:

Qui non exercet mentem corpusque coeracet
Est similis porco Libitina dignus et Orco.

In the sacrificial Calendar of Cos to which I have frequently referred in the first part of this paper, ZP. I, n. 8, B., l. 4, we have preserved the words *καθαίπεραι χοίρωι*.¹

The technical word used in connection with offering *exta* is *reddere*.² Servius, commenting on *reddimus exta*, G. 2, 194, says, "sacerdotum usus est verbo: *reddi* enim dicebantur *exta* cum *probata* et elixa arae superponebantur". In the Acta Lud. Saec. of the year 204 we find *splanchna reddere*.³ Sueton., Aug. 1, has *exta Marti redderentur*; and Tacitus, Hist. IV 53, *lustrata suovetaurilibus area et super caespitem redditis extis*.⁴

At the end of l. 3 and the beginning of line 4 the letters preserved are *akros es/ed Sora*, although there is some doubt about the last letter.⁵ Scholars generally read *sakros* = *sacer*, but there is a difference of opinion as to the form *esed*. Dessau explains by *sacer sit*, which, so far as the form is concerned, is impossible; one would expect rather *sied*. Skutsch⁶ says, "*esed* (der Bedeutung nach *esto*, der Form nach schwerlich = *eset*, das in solcher

¹ The use of pig's blood in purification is abundantly illustrated by Frazer, Pausanias, Vol. III, pp. 297 and 593; and by Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States IV, p. 303, where he says of the pig, "It was preëminently the piacular animal". Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p. 153, says, "The pig of purification was a ritual element so important that when Eleusis was permitted (B. C. 350-327) to issue her autonomous coinage, it is the pig that she chooses as the sign and symbol of her mysteries". The pig is often represented in reliefs; see Petersen, Ara Pacis, p. 56; Altmann, Die römischen Grabaltäre, p. 96. Hirt, Die Indogermanen, p. 289, finds it significant that in the *suovetaurilia* the *sus* takes the first place.

² Cf. Blecher, De Extispicio, p. 229; Wissowa, Religion 353; von Grienberger, Das Carmen Arvale, I. F. 19, 146.

³ Ephem. Epigr. VIII, p. 286.

⁴ For *dare exta* cf. Cato, Agr. 134; Ovid, F. 4, 908; Martial, II, 57, 4; for *porricere* (*proicere*), Macrobius, Sat. 3, 2, 2; Livy, 29, 27, 5; Varro, R. R. I, 29; Servius, Aen. 5, 238.

⁵ Cf. Rhein. Mus. 56, 163.

⁶ Vollmöller, l. c., p. 457, with a reference to Ceci, Rendiconti d. Ac. d. Lincei, 1899, 550.

Bestimmung ja kaum verständlich wäre, sondern vielleicht = *erit*, das hier wegen seiner ursprünglich konjunktivischen Natur noch die Secundärendung bewahrt hätte). Das Ganze also wie *patronus si clienti fraudem fecerit, sacer esto* (Serv., A. VI 609); si parentem puer verberit . . . , puer divis parentum sacer esto (Festus); und anderes in den sog. Königsgesetzen und den 12 Tafeln".¹ We might explain *esed* as *esset* if *censuere* preceded, as in the S. Cons. de Bacch., corresponding to *ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ* in Greek inscriptions. I have proposed above (p. 375) a reading possible with *essed* on the analogy of *πασχέτω ὡς ἱερόσυλος*: *Quoi hom loukom (fikom) violasid patitod quam sei sakros esed*. Servius, A. 3, 57, commenting on 'sacra fames', says, "alii 'sacra' devota accipiunt unde et *ver sacrum*, alii *sacrum* pro *scelestum* vel *sacrilegum*". The active form *patitod* could be defended by Cic., de Leg. 3, 4, 11, "doceri a magistratibus privatisque patiunt". In a corrupt passage, de Leg. 2, 57, Cicero has "*porcam* heredi esse contractam, et habendas triduum ferias, et *porco femina piaculum pati*;" *patitor* is used twice by Plautus in As. 375. For *quam sei* compare CIL. II 1963 c, XXIX, tam iustus tutor esto, *quam si* is civis Romanus et adgnatus proximus civis Romanus *tutor esset*. One may also compare Charisius, K. I. 143 f. *siremps lex esto quasi sacrum (sacram, codd.) violaverit*;² Lex Agraria (CIL. I 200 c, 27), de eo agro *siremps lex esto quam sei* is ager . . . publicus fuisset; Lex Bantina (197, l. 12), *siremps lexs esto quasei sei* is haace lege pecuniam . . . exegisset. One might then propose *sirempse lex estod quam sei sakros esed*, but this would probably exceed the space, and for so early an inscription a more direct form seems probable. Moreover, we can support the use of a fut. *esed* = *erit* from Greek inscriptions. Dionysius, to be sure (VI 89), translates *sacer esto* by *ἐξάγιστος ἔστω*, and the imper. is doubtless more frequent in Greek. Reinach has recently published (Rev. d. Ét. Gr., 1906, p. 260 ff.) a series of sepulchral inscriptions of the Roman period from Aphrodisias in Caria. In n. 154 we have the formula *ὁ ἐπιχειρήσας τοιοῦτό τι ἔστω ἀσεβὴς καὶ ἐπάρατος καὶ τυμβωρύχος καὶ ἀποτεισάτω τῇ κρατίστη βουλῇ ἀργυρίου δηνάρια βφ*, etc. This formula is repeated with more or less variation in some fifteen inscriptions, but in n. 155 we find *ὁ τοιοῦτό τι τολμήσας ἔσται ἐπάρατος*, etc.; in n. 168 and n. 177,

¹ For a full discussion of the formula *sacer esto* see Lange, Kleine Schriften II 91-125.

² For *sirempse* see Ritschl, Op. 4, 56. and Plaut., Amph. 73.

ἀποτείσει. In n. 184 ἔσται is due to conjecture.¹ In the XII tables 1, 4 we have "adsiduo vindex adsiduus esto; proletario iam civi quis volet, vindex esto"; but Cic., de leg. 2, 19, has "Qui secus faxit, deus ipse vindex erit". Compare Collitz-Bechtel 5267 (Kyme, Euboea), ἡδὲ δ' ἂν με κλέψῃ, θυφλὸς ἔσται. Sometimes we have imp. and fut. combined; cf. Cagnat, Insc. Gr. ad res Rom. pertinentes 599 (Lycia), ἀλλὰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐξέστω θάψαι τινα ἢ ἀσεβῆς ἔσται καὶ ἱερόσυλος καὶ ἀποτεισάτω, etc.; 696 (Apollonia), ἀλλὰ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐξεῖναι ἐγκηδεύσαι τινα, ἢ ἀμαρτωλὸς ἦτω θεοῖς χθονίοις καὶ ἐκτείσει, etc.² Accepting *caprificus* we might read, with an average of eighteen letters to the line,³

QUOI HOM[kaprifikom
violasid s]AKROS ES
ED SORA[noi nei redide
sid extas porkil]IASIAS

Here *Soranoi*⁴ would correspond to the θεοῖς χθονίοις of the Greek inscription just given. For I accept Servius' statement (Aen. 11, 785), "Soranus vero a Dite, nam Ditis pater Soranus vocatur, quasi lupi Ditis patris".⁵ In case *loukom* be accepted rather than

¹ For many similar inscriptions see Rohde, *Psyche*,³ 2, p. 342 f. G. Hirschfeld (Königsberger Studien, 1887, 83-144) has shown that such inscriptions imposing a fine are especially common in Lycia, and that the original formula is at least as old as the third century B. C., occurring in an inscription from Pinara (C. 4259), εἰάν δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσῃ ἀμαρτωλὸς ἔστω θεῶν πάντων καὶ Λητοῦς καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ προσαποτεισάτω τάλαντον ἀργυρίου. Similarly in another Lycian inscription, which can be dated about 240 B. C., from Telmessus (Bull. de Corresp. Hell., 1890, p. 164), which provides for an annual sacrifice (θεῖν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν . . . βούν τριετήν), we find ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἔστωσαν θεῶν πάντων.

² In Lat. sepulchral inscriptions, where a fine is imposed, we find *det, dabit, dare debet, inferet*, etc. For *exx.* see Wamser, *de iure sepulchrali Romanorum*, p. 33.

³ Let me say in advance that in regard to such forms as *redidesit* I feel quite uncertain as to the ending. Before rhotacism took place *-iso* rather than *-eso* may have continued to be the form of the fut. perf.; see Sommer, *Handbuch der Lat. Laut- und Formenlehre* 620 f. I do not accept *jovaset* of the Duenos insc. as = *iuverit*, and consequently that furnishes no proof of the ending *-set*, which may, nevertheless, be correct.

⁴ The dat. *Soranoi* is supported by *Numasioi*, by Faliscan *Sextoi* (cf. Schmidt, K. Z. 38, 31), and by the Ligurian (?) *tekialui, pivotialui* (cf. Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, p. 564).

⁵ Wissowa makes a vigorous protest against Soranus (BPW., 1904, col. 1052) and Skutsch follows him. In the same year with the Stele was discovered the only insc. referring to *Soranus* (Not. d. Scavi, 1899, p. 48), giving *Sancto Sorano Apollini*. Basiner's discussion of Soranus in his "Ludi Saeculares"

fikom (*fikum* if 4th decl.) or *caprifikom* one might read *Quoi hom loukom conloukasid, coinquesid* combining with asyndeton,¹ such as is frequent in legal inscriptions, the *conluere* of Cato, Agr. 139, with *coinquere*, so frequent in the Arval Acts. Whether *coinquesid* or *coinquisid* should be read or what would be the corresponding form of this verb in the early period is of course doubtful. In the Lex. Spolet. a distinction is made between the involuntary and voluntary violation of a grove and the word *sacer* is not used. In case of a violation done wittingly (*sciens, dolo malo*), in addition to the piacular offering, a fine is imposed. Whether such a commutation was allowed in the early period in Rome is doubtful. The evidence of the writers is against it, but the point seems to have been a debatable one. Macrobius, Sat. 1, 16, 10, says, "Praeter multam vero adfirmabatur eum qui talibus diebus *inprudens* aliquid egisset *porco piaculum* dare debere, *prudens* expiare non posse Scaevola pontifex adseverabat, sed Umbro negat eum pollui, qui opus vel ad deos pertinens sacrorumve causa fecisset, vel aliquid ad urgentem vitae utilitatem respiciens actitasset".² Arnobius, 7, 8, scornfully says, "Quae causa est ut si ego *porcum occidero*, deus mutet affectum animosque et rabiem ponat?" I have not added *sciens*,

(Warsaw, 1901, in Russian) I only know from a review in Arch. f. Religionswissenschaft 8, p. 312, from which I quote in part: "Als Sonnengott konnte Soranus heitere und düstere Züge erhalten und an Dis wie Apollo angeglichen werden. Ebenso ist seine Genossin Feronia bald Juno, bald Persephone, denn sie ist Mondgöttin. Die Geschichte bei Verg., Aen. 8, 563 ff. (dazu Servius), Servius, Aen. 7, 800, sind astrale Mythen. Der doppelte Charakter des Lateinischen Kultes, stimmt zu dem gleichen Charakter der Säkularfeier, auch weisen andere Tatsachen darauf hin, dass die Valerier von Alters her Sonne und Mond verehrten. Soranus und Feronia also brachten die Valerier aus ihrer Sabinischen Heimat mit nach Rom." Babelon, Mélanges Numismatiques (Troisième Série, 1900, p. 196), discussing the gens Valeria, takes a similar view. "Le culte de Jupiter enfant et de Veiovis était particulièrement en honneur à Faléries et dans le pays étrusco-sabin berceau de la gens Valeria". "Quant à Véjovis il était assimilé à Apollon Soranus, qui avait un sanctuaire fameux sur le mont Soracte au pied duquel Faléries était bâtie". Solinus, 2, 26, says, "hi (Hirpi) sacrificium annuum ad Soractis montem Apollini faciunt"; cf. Silius It. 5, 175; 7, 662; 8, 492. It must be admitted that our knowledge of Soranus is very limited.

¹ Cf. Cic., de leg. 2, 62, si quis bustum aut monumentum aut columnam violarit, laeserit, frugerit.

² Cf. Varro, LL. 6, 30; Cic. de leg. 1, 40; Fowler, Roman Festivals, 299; De Marchi, Il Culto privato di Roma Antica, 246 ff.

for one could hardly be said *conlucare lucum* without intention; but as in the case of the Arval Brethren, he might escape guilt by performing beforehand the piacular sacrifice. For *nei* (= *ni*) *redidesid*, compare laws of XII Tables 7, 7, *viam muniunto, ni sam dilapidassint*, qua volet iumenta agito; and inscriptions like VI 10298, *ni ita iurassit*, multa esto. Instead of a proviso with *ni*, some may prefer, on the analogy of some of the Greek inscriptions cited above, late as they are, to read *sakros esed Soranoi redet(d?)que extas porkiliasias*. Possibly in so early an inscription *exsektas* should be written, which would give three more letters. In case one is unwilling to accept *extas porkiliasias* on the ground that *extae* is a late, and not an early form, it might be suggested to read *hostias kaviarias* = *hostias caviaries*. *Caviaries* is only known to us from Festus, p. 40, "*Caviaries hostiae dicebantur quod caviae, id est pars hostiae cauda tenus, dicitur, et ponebatur in sacrificio pro collegio pontificum quinto quoque anno*". This seems to point to a *lustrum*. Harper's dictionary says, "*victims* so called from *caviae*, the excrementary canal of animals". But I think Walde must be right in suggesting that *cauda tenus* is 'Volksetymologie' and that *caviae* = "Brandopferstück zu gr. *καίω*". *Caviae* would then be another verbal adjective like *loiquios*, and would be supported by Hesychius, *κήια καθάρματα*, and by *κηῖαν* in ZP. II, n. 75, l. 34.¹

¹ The passage is unfortunately not complete and not clear. After and before a gap Z. reads *ἐς ἐφοδὸν θύεν ἐν Ἀνεμαίαις τρικτεῦαν κηῖαν. τῷ τρικτεῦαν κηῖαν*. I give a part of Ziehen's comment (II, p. 233), "*ἐς ἐφοδὸν θύεν* sc. τοὺς ἱερομνάμονας antequam fines Delphorum *ingrediebantur*. . . . *τρικτεῦα* haud dubie idem atque Atticum *τρίττοια*. . . . Sacrificium lustrale dici iam Boeckh, coll. Hes. s. v. *κήια καθάρματα* statuit et eiusdem sacrificium in introitu terrae sacrae fieri par est". Michel, n. 702, supplies *Ἀπόλλωνι* after *τῷ*. I leave to some one else the task of defending a reading like this for the Stele: Quoi hom stlokom (loukom)endo|gredietur sakros es|ed Soranoi nei redide|sit hostias kaviarias. I give him the benefit of the following suggestions, which amused me in a tired moment, when I was trying to solve the puzzle presented by Dionysius I, 87 and 3, 1, and the much quoted passage from Festus on the Niger Lapis (cf. Otto, ALL. XII 104; Pais, Ancient Legends, p. 281). Dionysius, I, 87, says of Faustus, *Τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὸν λέοντα τὸν λίθινον, ὃς ἔκειτο τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ χωρίῳ παρὰ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις, ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι τοῦ Φαιστίλου τεθῆναι φασιν, ἐνθ' ἔπεσεν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐρόντων ταφέντος*; and in 3, 1, in similar language, but not as explicit, says of Hostilius, *θάπτεται πρὸς τῶν βασιλέων ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τόπῳ στήλης ἐπιγραφῇ τὴν ἀρετὴν μαρτυροῦσης ἀξιοθεῖς*. Otto says, "Es hat nämlich aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach die Varronische Zeit noch jene auf Hostus Hostilius bezogene

ZP. I 5 (Cos Calendar), l. 30, has *ἔπειτα ἄγοντι τὸν βοῦν καὶ τὸν καυτὸν*, etc., where von Prott comments: "Immolatur solitum piaculum *porculus* apte *καυτὸς* appellatus quia *ὀλοκαυτεῖται*"; cf. ZP. I, n. 6 (Cos), l. 12: *Ζητὶ Μαχανῇ βοῦς κρίνεται . . . καθάπερ τοῦ Βατρομίου*

Inscription gesehen, und aus einem für sie zweideutigen Worte eine Beziehung teils auf jenen, teils auf Faustulus herausgelesen. Das scheint die scharfsinnige Ergänzung des Festusbruchstücks, p. 177 M., die wir Detlefsen verdanken, zu beweisen,—'Niger lapis in comitio locum funestum significat, ut ali, Romuli morti destinatum, sed non usu obvenisse, ut ibi sepeliretur, sed Fau>stulum nutri<cium eius, ut ali dicunt Hos>tilium avum Tu<lli Hostilii Romanorum regis> cuius familia e<Medullia Romam venit post destructio->nem eius',—und die doppelte Deutung auf Hostus Hostilius und auf Faustulus wäre von dem auf der Inschrift gelesenen Namen Hostlus für *Fostlus* ausgegangen". If *Fostlus* were written FHOSTLVS this shrewd guess would gain in probability. Let us suppose however that the Stele had not remained intact down to the time of Varro, but had been broken in two, say during the Gallic invasion, and that the other part, much more mutilated, had been set up not far off. Weather-beaten, moldy inscriptions *in situ* are often not easy to read nowadays, although a little scraping and cleaning sometimes brings out the letters very distinctly. Of the first line of the second side of our inscription in this other part all that would remain might be SIT(?)HOSTIASKA (V would probably be illegible). Imagine some dim-eyed enthusiastic antiquary, by craning his neck, being able to make out the letters HOSTI ASKA (I leave out of consideration *sit*, being uncertain of the ending. It may have been broken off from the upper part of the Stele. If present, he may have interpreted it as *situs* or *sita*). It does not take him long to solve the puzzle. He sees no interpuncts. HOSTI is of course the genitive of Hostus. And ASKA? Why *aska* is the archaic form of *arca*, as *asa* of *ara*, *Lases* of *Lares*, not to mention other words that he knows in which *s* stands for *r* (being an ancient Italian, he is not familiar with the conditions of rhotacism laid down by 'la scuola di Lipsia'). At once he reports to a Learned Society that the monument marks the tomb of Hostus Hostilius commemorating his virtues (see Dionys. 3, 1). For *arca* cf. Pliny, N. H. 13, 84, Cassius Hemina vetustissimus auctor annalium—prodidit Cn. Terentium—effodisse *arcam* in qua Numa *situs fuisset*; and see the inscriptions quoted by Ruggiero (Dizionario epigrafico) s. v., *arca C. Sitti*, etc. Pardon the *jeu d'esprit*, grave critics, which I have thrust into a foot-note lest it be taken too seriously. With similar perverse ingenuity one might propose to read in l. 10 and following:

POPLIF Ξ VJCIOD IO VXMEN
ENOITALOTSJVATOD: AIPAK AT
M

letters of line 11 should have of course the retrograde form). Our antiquary, if he could only make out the end of the first line and the beginning of the second in the separate fragment, would find F Ξ VSTOL and, taking the old form Ξ as an A, get *Faustol*, which he might interpret as Faustulus. *Usto-latío* (the early form of *ustulatio*) might be regarded as a compound of *usto-* = *καυτὸν*, *καυστόν* (cf. *κῆψαν*) and *latío* = literally 'burnt-offering', not

τῷ Ζηνὶ τῷ Πολιῇ κρίνεται καὶ χοῖρος προκαυτεύεται καὶ προκα-
ρύσσεται καθάπερ τῷ Πολιῇ. In Vergil VI 253, we have a reference
to a holocaust to an infernal deity like *Soranus*:

Tum Stygio regi nocturnas inchoat aras
Et solida inponit taurorum viscera flammis
Pingue super oleum fundens ardentibus extis.

A part of Servius' comment I have given in discussing *viscera*. At the end he says, "quamquam *alii* pro parte totum velint, ut per *exta totum animal intellegatur*". If we could accept this view of '*alii*', which does not seem probable, and equate *hostiae caviares* with *καυτόν* = *porculus*, *hostias caviarias* would not be so very different from *extas porkiliasias*. Skutsch says in regard to this line, "Vor dem ersten *ia* ist auf der Photographie der untere Teil eines L oder (eckigen) S zu sehen". If it would be impossible to read V, *Kaviarias* is ruled out, although in itself it seems plausible.¹ With the remainder of the

'sing-ing'. It would be a pretty pendant to *hostias kaviarias*. We may recall the burnt offering of Catullus 36, 7 f.:

Scripta tardipedi deo daturam
Infelicibus *ustulanda lignis*;

and the compound *usto-latio* (cf. *oblatio*) may be earlier than the verb *ustulo*. It now remains for the archaeologists to determine by their precise methods what is meant by Dionysius' phrase ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τόπῳ and then dig for the missing fragments of the Stele. I prefer of course to read *Vitulationem*.

¹ I anticipate that the objection will be raised that in the Acts of the Arval Brethren *extas porciliares* is only another way of expressing *porcas piaculares* and that (granting that we connect *Soranoi* ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with *sakros esed* and *redidesit*) female victims could only be offered to a female deity, and vice versa male to a male (cf. Krause, *De Romanorum Hostiis*, p. 8. In Greek we have, ZP. II, n. 57, Δεσποίνῃ χοῖρον ἄρσενά). But we are not certain of the restoration *Soranoi*, and *porkiliasias* may refer as well to a masc. **porcilus* (cf. Prellwitz, BB. 24, 97). Vergil, usually accurate in matters of ritual, has *porca*, A. 8, 641, where we might expect *porco*; see Servius, Quintilian 8, 3, 19, and the commentators. Corresponding to the diminutives *porcilia*, *porcellus*, we find in Greek in connection with the lustration of a theatre, PZ. II, n. 58, § 12, καὶ ὅταν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καθαίρει χοιρίσκους τρεῖς (παρέχειν); cf. Pollux 8, 104 and Harpocration, s. v., καθάρσιον, ἔθος ἦν Ἀθήνῃσι καθαίρειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὰ θέατρα καὶ ὅλως τὰς τοῦ δήμου συνόδους μικροῖς πάνν χοιριδίοις. -ιδιον is of course a secondary suffix, cf. Brugmann, Gdr. 2, p. 121. *Porcilus* is found as a proper name. May it not stand for *Porcidius*, with *l* for *d*, as in *consilium* for *considium*? Compare *Ovidius*, *Hirpidius*, *Cervidius*, *Parfidius*, *Picidius*, *Ursidius*. *Haedilia*, the only parallel cited for *porcilia* (cf. Heraeus, ALL. 12, 78) might easily arise by dissimilation from *haedidia*, but this seems less likely. Compare Schulze, *Eigennamen*, p. 234; Klio, 3, 258 ff.; ALL. 6, 271; 14, 426 f.

inscription I must deal more briefly. I would supplement so as to read:

RECEI LO[ustratio esed (estod)
comvorsoi ad l]EVAM
QVOS RI[te probasid pe
kudes per sovo]M KALATO
REM HAP?[etod i(n)molatos

Lustratio with the dat. is supported by CIL. VI 821, vici censori lustratio erit idibus Septembribus. In X 3792 (found in the amphitheatre at Capua) *lustratio* ad flumen occurs twice. The expression *lustrum*¹ *missum* occurs three times in the Acts of the Arval Brethren,² always of extraordinary ceremonies in connection with catastrophes to trees. I quote only essential parts. CIL. VI 2107, for Nov. 7, 224, "Fratres Arvales in luco deae Diae . . . convenerunt et ibi immolaverunt, quod vi tempestatis ictu fulminis *arbores sacri luci* deae Diae attactae arduerint, earumque *arborum* eruendarum, ferro fendendarum, adolendarum, commolendarum, item aliarum restituendarum causa operisque inchoandi aras temporales sacras deae Diae reficiendi, eius rei causa *lustrum missum* suovetaurilibus maioribus;"³ in the same year, Dec. 10, "quod ab ictu fulminis *arbores luci sacri* deae Diae attactae arduerint, earumque *arborum* adolefactarum et coinquendarum, et quod in eo luco sacro aliae sint repositae et arae temporales refectae, ferri efferendi, huius operis perfecti causa *lustrum missum* suovetaurilibus maioribus". For the year 183, although the words *lustrum missum* are not used, the same ceremony seems intended = VI 2099, May 13, "in luco deae Diae . . . magister operis perfecti causa, quod arboris eruendae et aedis refectae, *immolavit suovetaurilibus*; and Feb. 8, operis inchoandi causa, quod in fastigio aedis diae Diae *ficus innata esset*, eruendam et aedem reficiendam, *immolavit suovetaurilibus* maioribus. So also in the defective protocol of the year 218 (containing Carmen Arvale), VI 2104, *immolavit suovetaurilibus* maioribus.

¹ *Lustrum* occurs in CIL. VI 422 connected with the *lucus Furrinae*; see Comptes Rendus de l' Académie des Inscriptions, 1907, p. 152. Deecke (Rhein. Mus. 39, 640) interprets Etrusc. *lursθ* as *lustrum*.

² Compare the Commentary of Henzen, p. 143, the new fragment published in Not. d. Scavi, 1899, p. 268, and Pauly-Wissowa, Arvales Fratres, col. 1481.

³ Cf. Livy 21, 62, 7 and 10, iam primum omnium urbs *lustrata* est, hostiaeque maiores quibus editum est dis caesae.

Of *-evam*, at the end of l. 6, Skutsch says, "*-evam* ist ganz unklar; nicht *d]evam*¹ da für so alte Zeit nur *deivam* denkbar, nicht *n]evam* neu, da der Wandel von *ev*: *ov* schon gemeinitalisch für unsere Inschrift auch in *iouxmenta* und *iovestod* belegt ist". No one has proposed *levam*, because we should naturally expect *laivam*;² and *levam* for *laivam* as *cedere* for *caidere* in Lex. Spolet. is not in the least probable. However Berneker (I. F. X 162) assumes *levus* to have been the original form. I give his words: "let. *lāuns* 'link, übel' *l'aina puse* 'die linke Seite', Ich vergleiche abg. *lēvz* 'links' usw. Das let. weist auf **lēvnos* (vgl. z. B. pr. *naunan* 'neu' aus **nevnos* gegenüber *véos*). Die Bedeutung stimmt so trefflich, dass man entschieden bedauern würde, Slav. *lēvz* auf **laivos* zurückführen zu müssen; nicht wegen gr. *λαίος* 'links', denn dieses kann auf *ləvijó* zurückgeführt werden, wohl aber wegen des lat. *laevus* 'links'. Sollte indes es wirklich unmöglich sein, dass dieses für *lēvus* stünde, und sein *ae* einer Beeinflussung von *scaevus* 'links' gr. *σκαίος* zu danken habe? Dann hätte das let. Wort, das sonst vereinzelt und unerklärt dastünde, eine voll befriedigende Etymologie".³ *Lēvir*, for which we should expect *laevir*, is not found in any early writer, and Nonius' etymology "*quasi levus vir*" has no value. So also his derivation (51 M.) "*levum significari veteres putant quasi a levando*",⁴ quoting Verg., Georg. 4, 7, with *leva*. The Palatine MSS of Plautus often have *levus*, but in view of the common confusion of *ae* and *e* this has little weight. In fact the spelling *laevus* must have come in early, and is the usual one in Inscriptions (*ad laevam* occurs, 1, 1027); so VI 10242, 10241, 30506; III 567; V p. 617, no. 5; VIII 2581; Not. d. Scavi, 1899, p. 26, in a fragment of Acta Arv. *Leva* does occur in a late inscrip-

¹Cf. Walde, Et. Wb., s. v. We have to be sure CIL. 1, 814, *Devas Corniscas* but the insc. is not early enough to afford proof. Enman reads *ad Deivam devam*, but the stereotyped order seems to be *Dea Dia*. As so much of my restoration depends upon the acts of the Arval Brethren, I was inclined at first to accept *deivam devam*, but I have found no satisfactory supplements with this reading. Others perhaps may be more successful.

²Ludwig however, Prague, 1901, p. 5, does suggest *laevam* (*scaevam*).

³For other etymologies of *laevus* see Walde, and Rhein. Mus. 43, 399; K. Z. 37, 279 and 285. Prellwitz³ has "*λαίος* link (Aesch.), **λαίφός* = lat. *laevus*, ksl. *lēvū* link. S. *λαρός*; oder zu *√lēi*, *λιάζομαι*". English *left* is of course not connected.

⁴It was reserved to a later age to give *Levant* < *levare* the meaning of East. Compare Milton's "the Levant and the Ponent winds".

tion (589 A. D.) in II 3420. In the acts of the Arval Brethren a phrase frequently repeated is "magister fratrum Arvalium manibus lautis velato capite sub divo culmine¹ (columine) *contra orientem*". *Ad levam* I take in our inscription in the sense of *contra orientem*. When the Roman augur faced the south² (*ad meridiem spectans*, said of Attus Navius, Cic., de Div. I, 31) he had the east on his left.³ Compare Varro, LL. 7, 7, "Eius templi partes quattuor dicuntur sinistra ab oriente", etc.; Festus, p. 502, "Varro, l. V epistolicarum questionum, ait, 'A deorum sede cum *in meridiem spectes ad sinistram* sunt parte mundi exorientes'"; Pliny 2, 142, "*Laeva* prospera existunt, quoniam *laeva parte* mundi ortus est". Pliny follows this statement with a discussion of the Etruscan division of the *caelum* into sixteen parts. In view of the influence of Etruria upon Roman religion, it may be worth while to note that in the boustrophedon Etruscan inscription found at Capua, first published by Buecheler (Rhein. Mus. 55, 1 ff.), the word *leva*⁴ occurs in l. 4. Buecheler puts this inscription in the fifth century; Lattes makes it a century later.⁵ In the Agram inscription, which is certainly later than the Capuan, these words occur, which I give with Lattes' interpretation:⁶ "*laes'*, *laevi*, *laeti*, in sinistra, *laevisca*, *laeva*, *Laiscla*, Inferae (*Laevisculae*; cf. Arnob., 'dii laevi' per inferi), *hampe-s' lae-s'* forse *campi laevi* in senso augurale".⁷

My ignorance of Etruscan is profound, and I shall not attempt to prove that *leva* in the Capuan insc. has anything to do with these words or with the Lat. *laevus*. If it has, it proves that *levus* is the older spelling in Etruscan,⁸ and who knows but that the

¹Cf. Henzen, Comment., p. 7; and ALL. X 276, Vitruvius 4, 5, 1.

²Compare especially Fries, Rhein. Mus. 55, 36 f.

³For conflicting views see Pauly-Wissowa, *Augur*, col. 2341, and Wissowa, *Religion d. Römer*, p. 452.

⁴In l. 15 *levaθtui* occurs; in l. 11, *is'umazuslevai* (*zusleve* occurs several times in the Agram insc.).

⁵Atene e Roma III, p. 199.

⁶Cf. Lattes, *Studi metrici intorno all' iscrizione Etrusca della Mummia*, 1895, p. 95; Rhein. Mus. 49, 320, 1904; Stud. It. di Fil. Class. XII, 1904, pp. 93 and 105 f.

⁷Cf. Lattes, *Saggi ed Appunti*, p. 23.

⁸As Etruscan is no longer admitted to be Indo-Germanic we should have to suppose that it borrowed *levus* from Latin or some other Indo-Germanic tongue. If the bold hypothesis put forth by Ridgeway (see London *Athenaeum*, May 4, 1907, and compare Merlin, *L'Aventine*, p. 27 ff.) be true, that

graver was an Etruscan workman? Torp, *Etruskische Beitraege* 2, p. 32, says, 'Der Osten war aber bei den Etruskern die linke, der Westen die rechte Seite (Mue-De. sic, II 131)', but he gives to *ραχ* the meaning of 'left', and on p. 47 translates "*ραχθ tura nunθe n θ*" "wenn du links (opfer) gibst, sprich", which if correct would illustrate *convorsoi ad levam*. I write *com-* rather than *con-* because of *convalem*, CIL. I¹ 199, 8, and *convovise*, 196, 13 (Sen. Cons. de Bacch.). As parallels I would cite Verg., A. XII 172, *illi ad surgentem conversi lumina solem*, on which Servius remarks, "*disciplinam caerimoniarum secutus est, ut orientem spectare diceret eum, qui esset precaturus*" (cf. A. 8, 68); Ovid, Fast. 4, 777, *haec tu conversus ad ortus*; Cic., de Cons. 58 (Baehrens, Frag., p. 301), *solis ad ortum convorsa* (Juv. 4, 120, in *laevum conversus* in literal sense); Tertullian, Apol. 16, Denique inde suspicio quod innotuerit nos ad orientis regionem precari; Valerius Flaccus 3, 437 ff.,

imperat, hinc alte Phoebi surgentis ad orbem
ferre manus, tososque simul procumbere campis.
tunc piceae mactantur oves, prosectaque partim
tergora, per medios partim gerit obviis Idmon.

Servius, A. 6, 244, *vergere* autem est *conversa in sinistram* partem manu ita fundere, ut *patera* convertatur, quod in infernis sacris fit, haec autem pertinent ad victimarum *explorationem*, ut si non stupuerint, *aptae proebentur*; Seneca, Thyestes 642, *conversa ad Austros*; Soph., Oed. Col. 477, *χρὸς χέασθαι σπάρτα πρὸς πρῶτην ἔω*; cf. Dionysius 2, 5. Petersen (Jahreshefte d. Oest. Arch. Inst., 1906, p. 309), discussing the Ara Pacis, says, "Der von Westen, der Eingangsseite, hinaufgestiegene Opferer blickte also, wie es üblich, gegen Osten".

the plebeian substratum of Latin is Ligurian, one might put in evidence for the vocalism at least that both Livy and Pliny speak of a Ligurian tribe of Laevi (some codd., *levi*). Schulze (Eigennamen, p. 178) cites Etruscan *leve levei* and (p. 33) Leus = Levus from Trident (CIL. V 5039, with *ae* preserved thrice in other words), of which he says, "es kann identisch sein mit dem Namen des am Ticinus sitzenden Ligurerstammes". *Livius* might be derived from *Lēvius*, as *filius* from *fēlius*. Cato, Orig. frag. 58, Peter, speaks of Egerius *Laevius* Tusculanus dictator, where many of the Priscian MSS point to *e* rather than *ae*. Gröber, ALL. 3, 512, says, *levisticum* statt *ligusticum* nach fr. *livèche*, ital. *levistico*, but this has no importance. However, the Indo-Germanic origin of the Ligurians is not yet proved; see Hirt, Indogermanen 563 ff. Modestov regards them as a pre-Aryan Mediterranean race (see Rev. Arch., 1907, p. 306).

The idea of reading *ad levam* was, however, first suggested to me not by the Acts of the Arval Brethren but by the Iguvian Tables. Compare the following passages, with Buecheler's translation:

I a 32, nertruku peři kapiře
peřum feitu. puni feitu. Api
suřuf purtiius, etc.

VI b 37, Persondro staflare
nertruco persi fetu. Suront
capirse perso osatu, suror per-
sanimu, puse sorsu.

VI b 39, enom vestisiam
staflarem nertruco persi, suru-
ront erus dirstu. enom peson-
dro sorsalem persome, pue
persnis fust, ife endendu,
pelsato.

ad sinistrum pedem¹ capidi
fossam facito, ubi porciliias por-
rexeris, etc.

Persontrum stabularem ad sin-
istrum pedem facito, item
capidi fossam facito, itidem
precator ut porcilia.

tum vesticiam stabularem ad
sinistrum pedem itidem erus
dato. tum persontrum por-
ciliarem in fossam ubi precatus
erit ibi imponito, pelsato.

Buecheler in his comment (Umbrica, p. 75) says, "porci solebant amburi in scrobibus, εὔστρα βόθρος ἐν ᾧ τοὺς ὕς εὐνοῦσιν, εὔσταν ὄρυγμα ἐν ᾧ τοὺς ὕς βυθίζουσι (Aristoph., Eq. 1236, schol. Hesychius)." Paulus, p. 21, says, "altaria ab altitudine sunt dicta, quod antiqui diis superis in aedificiis a terra exaltatis sacra faciebant; diis terrestribus in terra, diis infernalibus in effossa terra". The scholiast to Eurip., Phoen. 274, says, ἐσχάρα² μὲν κυρίως ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς βόθρος ἐνθα ἐναγίζουσι τοῖς κάτω ἐρχομένοις, βωμὸς δὲ ἐν ᾧ θύουσι τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις θεοῖς; Porphyr., de antr. nymph. 3, τοῖς μὲν Ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς ναοὺς τε καὶ ἔδη καὶ βωμοὺς ἰδρύσαντο, χθονίοις δὲ καὶ ἥρωσιν ἐσχάρας, ὑποχθονίοις δὲ βόθρους καὶ μέγαρα. Jane Harrison (Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p. 60) translates Athen. IX 78, 409 E, "Dig a trench (βόθυνον = βόθρον) to the west of the tomb. Then look along the trench toward the west (πρὸς ἐσπέραν βλέπε), pour down water saying these words: 'A purification for you, to whom it is meet and right'. Next pour down a second time myrrh". βόθρος is found as a gloss of fossa, fovea, scrobis; βόθυνος as a gloss of fovea, scrobis (compare Heraeus, Index Graeco-Latinus; CGL. VII 2). The scholiast on Statius, Theb. 4, 459, says, "tria sunt in sacrificiis deorum loca, per quae piationem facimus; scrobiculo

¹ So in speaking of the lustration of an army Livy, 40, 6, says, "caput mediae canis praecisae et pars ad dexteram cum extis, posterior ad laevam viae ponitur".

² On the meaning of ἐσχάρα see Furtwängler (Arch. f. Relig. Wissen. 8, p. 192).

facto inferis, terrestribus supra terram sacrificamus, caelestibus exstructis focis"; cf. Theb. 4, 502, "*Laevaue convulsae (convulsa, Mueller) dedimus carchesia terrae (terra, M.)*"; Ovid, M. 7, 243,

Haud procul egesta scrobibus tellure duabus
Sacra facit, cultrosque in guttura velleris atri
Conicit et patulas perfundit *sanguine fossas*.

Cf. Val. Flacc. 1, 735, in scrobibus cruor; and Sil. It. 13, 427 ff.,

Inducit iuvenem ferroque cavare refossam
Ocius urget humum atque, arcanum murmur anhelans,
Ordine mactari *pecudes* iubet. ater operto
Ante omnis taurus regi, tum proxima divae
Caeditur Hennaee casta cervice iuvenca.

Following these analogies one may perhaps prefer to read *fosad faktad ad levam, patereis*¹ *fuseis ad levam* or something similar. All things considered, I prefer *comvorsoi ad levam*.

The phrase *rite probare* occurs in Ennius, Ann. 613 (Vahlen), ab laeva *rite probatum*. The reference is probably to an omen. Valmaggi (279) combines it with "tum tonuit laevom bene tempestate serena" = Vahlen, Ann. 527. Servius, commenting on Verg., Aen. XII 213 f.,

tum *rite sacratas*
in flammam iugulant *pecudes*,

says, "*rite exploratas sollemnitate quam diximus supra*". The reference is to Aen. 12, 170 ff.,

saetigeri fetum *suis* intonsamque bidentem
attulit admovitque *pecus* flagrantibus aris
illi ad surgentem conversi lumina solem
dant fruges manibus salsas et tempora ferro
summa notant *pecudum* paterisque altaria libant.²

¹ Cf. Stat., Theb. 4, 461 ff.,

iamque ardua ferro
signati capita et frugum libamine puro
in vulnus cecidere greges; tunc innuba Manto
exceptum *pateris* praelibat sanguen,

where the scholiast says, "primo est *sanguinem libare*, deinde immolare, tertio reddere, quarto litare". The Servius scholion on A. 6, 244, quoted above, with *in sinistram* partem, might be used to support the reading, *patereis fuseis* (*verseis* from *vergo*?) *ad levam*.

² Thus in Aen. 12, 170 ff. and 213 ff. we should have parallels for *comvorsoi ad levam, rite probasit pecudes*, and *habetod inmolatos*.

Servius' comment on 173 is "far et sal: quibus rebus et cultri aspergebantur et victimae, erant etiam istae *probationes* utrum aptum esset animal sacrificio". Compare Pliny, N. H. 8, 183, "quam ob rem victimarum probatio in vitulo ut (cauda) articulum suffraginis contingat, brevior non litant";¹ Serv., Aen. 6, 244, cited above (p. 395); Cicero, de lege Agr. 2, 93, erant hostiae maiores in foro constitutae, quae ab his praetoribus de tribunali, sicut a nobis consulibus, de consilii sententia *probatae* ad praecorem et ad tibicinem *immolabantur*"; Tertullian, Apol. 30, "ut mirer cum hostiae *probenitur* penes vos a vitiosissimis sacerdotibus cur praecordia potius victimarum quam ipsorum sacrificantium *probenitur*". On δοκιμασία see Plutarch, De Defectu Orac., c. 49; ZP. II, n. 58, l. 70 f., παριστάτω τὰ θύματα εὐίερα καθαρὰ ὀλόκλαρα, καὶ ἐπιδειξάτω τοῖς ἱεροῖς πρὸ ἡμερῶν δέκα τῶν μυστηρίων τοῖς δὲ δοκιμασθέντοισι σαμείον ἐπιβαλόντω οἱ ἱεροὶ καὶ τὰ σαμειωθέντα παριστάτω ὁ ἐγδεξάμενος; ZP. II, n. 94 c, l. 14 ff., δοκιμάζειν δὲ τὰ ἱερεῖα τοὺς προβούλους καὶ τὸν ταμίαν καὶ τὸν κήρυκα. Reading *quos rite probasit* we cannot, of course, supply *hostias* or *victimae*. *Sues*,² *oves*, *boves*, or *porcos* might be thought of; but I prefer *pecudes*, which is used as masc. by Ennius and other writers (see Neue³ Formenlehre I, 845). *Pecudes* and *pecus* are used in the Vergil passages cited above (Aen. 12, 170 and 213) and in Sil. It. 13, 429 to include various victims; and Servius, A. 12, 171, says, "primo adtulit, inde admovit *pecus*, id est *hostias*". Vitruvius, 1, 4, 9, has *pecoribus immolatis*. The Greeks had a convenient expression τρίττω, τρίττωια. Compare ZP. II, p. 10. For the separation of the relative *quos* from *pecudes* many parallels could be cited from early Latin; cf. Mil., Glor. 73, "*quos* consignavi hic heri *latrones*".³

Comparetti and Enmann both propose *per suom kalatorem*. The older form of *suom* would be *sovom*; cf. *soveis*, CIL. I¹ 1297; *sovom*, I¹ 588. In the Acts of the Arval Brethren *per calatorem* occurs frequently; cf. CIL. VI 2059 of 80 A. D., *piaculum factum per calatorem et publicos*; 2107 (225 A. D.), *immolavit ob ferri elationem scripturae et sculpturae et operis perfecti . . . per*

¹ On *litatio* cf. Blecher, de extispicio, p. 221, who, however, disapproves of Servius' explanation, A. XII 173.

² If we read *fosad faktad ad levam* perhaps *sues* or *porcos* would be better, especially if we read in l. 4 *hostias kaviasias*.

³ For other *exx.* see Prescott, Thought and Verse in Plautus (University of California Publications, 1907, p. 254), and for Oscan and Umbrian see Altenburg, De Sermone pedestri Italarum vetustissimo, p. 530.

Porcium Philologum *calatorem* et per publicos fratrum Arvalium.¹ Compare Tac., A. 12, 8, 4, addidit Claudius sacra ex legibus Tulli regis piaculæque *apud lucum* Dianæ *per pontifices danda*. As to the reading *hap* < *etod* for *hab* < *etod* I have nothing new to add; see Otto, ALL. 11, 432; and for Oscan and Umbrian *hap*-, Buck, Grammar, p. 167. It might be explained if we suppose the graver to have been an Etruscan, although B appears occasionally in Etruscan monuments; *sipi* is found in CIL. III 4850, although the same inscription has *sibi*. The use of *habere* with the perfect participle has numerous parallels in literature¹ and in inscriptions. In the first volume of the Corpus, I note the following examples: 198, 14 and 18, *scriptos—discriptos habeto*; 58, *scriptum*; 206, 16 and 34, *propositum*; 54, *constratam*; 70, *inmolitum*; 71, *saeptum clausumve*. In the Laws of the XII tables 3, 4, *qui eum vinctum habebit*; cf. Dessau 6087, LXI, *Jure civili vinctum habeto*; CIIII, *ne quis limites decumanosque opsaeptos neve quit immolatum neve quit ibi opsaeptum habeto*. Compare Macrobius, S. 3, 9, 9, in a carmen devotionis², ‘uti vos eas urbes agrosque capita aetatesque eorum *devotas consecratasque habeatis*; Cicero, de leg. 2, 21, *templa liberata et effata* (augures) *habento*.

I have written *inmolatos* because the unassimilated form seems more likely for so early a period. Dorsch decides for *immolo* in Plautus. Keil adopts *inmolo* for Cato and Varro, R. R., with more or less support from the MSS. The index of Vol. I¹ of the Corpus does not give *immolo*, but similar forms are unassimilated. In the Ludi Saeculares insc. *inmolandarum*, *inmolanda*, and *inmolavit* occur. In the Acts of the Arval Brethren there are a few cases of *inm*- but *imm*- prevails largely. I have noted other cases of the unassimilated form in CIL. XII, 4333; XI, 3303; IX, 5845; VI, 30934; and I do not doubt there are others. In the Fasti Praenestini, I¹, p. 312, 10 & 17 *inmoletur* and *inmolant* occur. Festus, p. 7, has *agonium* dies appellatur quo rex hostiam *inmolavit*, but occasionally he too has *inm*-. Of course, if we accept the assimilated form we should write *imolatos* and save a letter.

To conclude, of the several forms of restoration, which I have proposed, I do not wish to give here the preference to any one, although in some cases I have already indicated my own prefer-

¹ For a historical treatment of this usage see ALL. 2, 372-423, 509-549, and 3, 532 ff.

² Cf. Thulin, Ital. Sak. Poesie and Prosa, p. 56.

ence. I believe that the inscription refers to a sacred tree or grove, the violation of which involves a curse and a piacular offering (*extas porkiliasias* or *hostias kaviarias*). As a consequence also a *lustratio* is prescribed to be conducted by the *rex*, who, after the selection of the proper victims (*rite probasid pekudes*), causes them to be sacrificed by his *Kalator*.

For convenience I give together the restorations proposed on p. 387 and p. 392 for lines 1-9.

QVOI HOM [kaprifikom
violasid s]AKROS ES
ED SORA [noi nei redide—
sid extas porkil]IASIAS
RECEI LO[ustratio esed
comvorsoi ad l]EVAM
QVOS RI[te probasid pe—
kudes per sovo]M KALATO
REM HAP? [etod i(n)molatos

I crave pardon of my readers for so long a paper. It would have been longer, had I taken up in detail the proposals of other scholars, or given all the conjectures as to *havelod* and other words that have occurred to me. Although I have read all the literature on the subject on which I could lay my hands, I may not have given due credit to other scholars for profitable suggestions. If this be so, I regret it. I realize that I have raised many new problems without settling them. Where I have failed, I hope others will succeed. Above all it is to be hoped that other early inscriptions of similar character will be found, which will clear up all our doubts.

NOTE.—The above treatment of the Stele inscription is the elaboration of a paper read in Washington, January 3, 1907, at the joint session of the Archaeological Institute of America and the American Philological Association. Brief abstracts of this paper have been printed in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. XI, p. 61 f., and in the *Proceedings of the Philological Association*, Vol. 37, p. XXXIII f.

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II.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF HOMERIC METRE.

I.—METRICAL LENGTHENING AND THE BUCOLIC DIAERESIS.

The title of this paper is a translation of the heading of the first section (pp. 3-70) of Solmsen's *Untersuchungen zur griechischen Laut- und Verslehre*, Strassburg, 1901, and the paper is devoted to a criticism of the view there advanced. The question under discussion is the extent of the admissibility of metrical lengthening of the second syllable in words of which the original form was 1. $\cup\cup\cup\cup$, 2. $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$, or 3. $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$. Schulze, in his *Quaestiones Epicae*, in his effort to reduce the phenomena of metrical lengthening to as rigid a scheme as possible, had denied the metrical lengthening of the second syllable in words of the second and third types except for $\delta\acute{\iota}\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ which he ascribed to the influence of $\delta\acute{\iota}\phi\iota\lambda\epsilon$ a word of the first type. For this type he admitted a double method of treatment, they becoming either $\cup\cup\cup$ (—) or $\cup\cup\cup\cup$. The great merit of this section of Solmsen's work is that, in addition to the increase of our knowledge of Greek etymology, it brings the proof for the metrical lengthening of the second syllable in words of all three types. This fact it may be noted is in harmony with the view established by Danielsson, *Zur metrischen Dehnung*, p. 33, that it is extremely improbable that words of the types $\cup\cup\cup\cup$ and $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$ are treated on different principles according as the last syllable ends in a vowel or a consonant. Solmsen has, however, advanced an explanation of the cause of this peculiar form of lengthening, which, while at first sight perfectly satisfactory, proves on further examination to be, in my opinion, untenable. Under this conviction I have undertaken a criticism of Solmsen's explanation of the facts, in the hopes of removing what I believe to be, on account of the very merits already recognized, a barrier to a truer understanding of the phenomenon.

The material involved comprises the following words of the second and third types: $\delta\acute{\iota}\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, -ον, -οι; $\mu\epsilon\mu\alpha\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\varsigma$; $\mu\epsilon\theta\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon$, $\mu\epsilon\theta\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon$,

συντέμεν; ὑπείρεχον, ὑπείροχον; ἐρείομεν; ἐλούεον; γελοῖον, ὁμοῖος, -ον; μυρτίνῳ; τιθήμεναι, τιθήμενον; ἀρόμεναι; καλήμεναι, Καλήσιον; ποθήμεναι; ῥεούμενοι; Θεοφίλη; ἀγείρατος. To these examples Solmsen adds a number of words in which the desired form has been secured not by metrical lengthening but by an analogical modification, f. i. τετεύχεται for *τετυχεται. The two phenomena, however, should be kept apart, as the use of convenient analogical forms is not subject to the restrictions that govern metrical lengthening, cf. f. i. μεμαῶτος, and notice that analogy even produces at times forms, f. i. θυγατέρος, that are repugnant to the metre. Schulze, *Quaestiones Epicae*, p. 15, makes the distinction very clearly, as does also Danielsson, *Zur metrischen Dehnung*, p. 6, anm. 4, and Solmsen would not have been lead into disregarding it, had it not been for his observation, p. 19, that the supposed cause of this form of metrical lengthening applies (for reasons which will be clear later) also to these analogical formations. Words of the first type that show a lengthening of the second syllable, are: διτίφιλε; μεμῶστε; ἀφ-, ἐν-, μεθίετε; ὑπεῖρ ἄλλα, ὑπείρεχε; καλήτορα, Καλήτορα; θεμεῖλια; ἀλείατα; Μακηδόνα; θαλύσια; ἐρύετο and ἐπώχατο if for *ἐώχατο. Analogical formations are again added. These words are discussed by Solmsen, pp. 3-41, and I may refer to his work for the citation of the passages and the etymologies. To these instances are to be added, cf. pp. 47-59, the proper names: Κρονίονος, Μολίονα, Μολίονε, Νομίονος.

Whether the long vowel of ὄτομαι is due to metrical lengthening or not is considered doubtful. For it, Solmsen offers two explanations, without deciding between them. We may start with *ὄFισ-ω which will become ὄτω and explain the forms with long iota as the result of metrical lengthening; or we may start from *ὄFισ-ιω which will yield ὄτω. Then, as Schulze's suggestion that ὄτω is due to the influence of ὄτω is extremely improbable, and the form ὄτω is guaranteed by the metre in a number of passages, Solmsen suggests that ὄτω be read throughout thus removing all supposed instances of the short vowel in this verb. I believe that there are additional reasons for deciding definitely in favor of the second of these alternatives. The instances in the Iliad in which ὄτω must be read are all passages which have been considered for various reasons late or of Ionic origin: E 252. I 315. K 105. A 763. O 298. P 709. T 71. Y 362. Φ 533. Ψ 310. Ω 727, and the passages in which ὄτω now stands are all of the same type: A 558. E 894. K 551. A 609. M 73. N. 153. Ξ 454. Φ 399. Ψ 467, besides three passages

in the *Odyssey*: β 255. ν 427. ο 31. Furthermore, a comparison of the table in Ludwich's *Aristarch's Homerische Textkritik*, II, pp. 317 ff., shows that except in a single case the metre is improved by the change.¹ As the vowel is naturally long there is then no motive for Solmsen's proposed emendation of Α 78 to:

ἦ γὰρ οἶομαι ἄνδρα χολωσέμεν, ὅς μέγα πάντων.

An emendation extremely objectionable both as increasing the instances of the *στίχοι λαγαροί*, and also as introducing the contracted form into one of the oldest parts of the poems.

At this point it seems advisable to supplement Solmsen's material. Except for *ὑπεῖρ ἄλα* he has discussed only cases of lengthening in single words; but, as the same principle should apply to groups of words of this type that constitute a unit, it becomes necessary to add from his work, pp. 70-94, and Daniels-son, pp. 7-31, the following: καὶ ἀνέρι, -ε, -ες, -ας, α 292. β 223. τ 417. Α 328. ξ 410. Β 1. Α 549. Ο 272. Ω 677. Β 554. Α 497. Π 167. Ψ 111;² δὺ' ἀνέρε, -ας, Μ 421. 447. Π 218. Μ 127; παρ' ἀνέρι, Ρ 421; ὑπ' ἀνέρος Γ 61; μετ' ἀνέρας σ 184, Η 209; καὶ ἄορι Φ 208; κατ' οὖρεος (v. l. οὔρεα) ζ 102; δι' οὖρεος Hymns (edd. Allen and Sikes) IV 231. V 69; ἐν οὖρεσι(ν) Α 479. Δ 455. Ω 614. κατ' οὔρεα Φ 485. κατάνεται β 58. ρ 537; καὶ ὑετόν Μ 133 and τὰ τεῖρεα Σ 485.

In citing his examples Solmsen lays stress upon the fact that all of them stand immediately before the Bucolic Diaeresis. This statement is correct for all cases except Ψ 255:

τορνῶσαντο δὲ σῆμα θεμειλιά τε προβάλλοντο,

in which line there is no diaeresis as it is impossible to separate the enclitic *τε* from the preceding word. It is also true of all the cases of word-groups cited above except Σ 485:

ἐν δὲ τὰ τεῖρεα πάντα, τὰ τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωνται.

Accordingly Solmsen offers, p. 63, the suggestion that this form of lengthening was permitted by the poets as an exception before the Bucolic Diaeresis in order to secure this favorite division of the verse. In other words the Bucolic Diaeresis is the *causa*

¹ In Ψ 467 the result is: *ddssd* for the more frequent: *dddsd*, but this book has 17 other instances of the former type.

² The justification for taking *καί* so closely with the following word is to be found in the fact that it is not permitted to stand at the end of a line nor before the caesura.

efficiens of the peculiar lengthening. How much so this is the case in his eyes may be seen from a passage, p. 33, in which he infers from the fact that a word occurs only before the Bucolic Diaeresis proof that the length of the syllable is not original: "Es bildet den schlussstein des beweises dass wir *νεήφατον* an der stelle des verses finden die, nach allem was wir frueher gesehen, verbindlich fuer die silbenfolge $\cup - \cup\cup$ ist, soweit sie $\cup\cup\cup \cup$ der natuerlichen rede vertritt." Compare also p. 16.

At first sight Solmsen's induction with its 150 examples opposed to but two exceptions seems conclusive. Further study of the books he has chosen for illustration shows, however, that his conclusion is an exact inversion of the truth and that, instead of the Bucolic Diaeresis being the cause of the lengthening, the fact that these words have after their lengthening the form $\cup - \cup\cup$ is the cause of their standing with almost absolute regularity before the Bucolic Diaeresis. The proof of this is to be found in the fact that about 96% of all words of the metrical value $\cup - \cup\cup$ stand before the Bucolic Diaeresis entirely independent of any question as to whether the length of the second syllable is metrical or natural. The reasons for this placing of these words are for the most part clear, and it will further be shown that of the remaining 4% more than half are due to a definite cause and so are only apparent exceptions.

As a starting point may be taken the following table, compiled from Solmsen's statistics, pp. 64 ff., and showing the occurrence of words of this type before the Bucolic Diaeresis:

	A	Z	Ω	α	ι	υ
natural length:	150	131	188	106	108	98
metrical length:	3	5	5	—	1	—
analogical forms:	6	—	—	—	—	—

This table however requires revision. Solmsen has included all cases of a succession of the syllables $\cup - \cup\cup$ between the caesura and the Bucolic Diaeresis. The examples should however be confined to cases of single words and word-groups that constitute a unit. A recount for A shows: 80 cases of a single word in this place, 13 cases of preposition and case, 5 of particularly close combination of adjective or genitive and noun (*ἐμὸν λέχος*), 4 such as *θάλασσά τε, μάλιστα δέ* and 3 of *καί* with a following word, a total of 105 of which 96 are naturally long. For the remaining books it

will be sufficiently accurate to assume that this proportion will hold.¹ It is also necessary to add the word-groups cited above to the cases of metrical lengthening. Both of these changes are distinctly unfavorable to my side of the argument. The table then is:

	A	Z	Ω	α	ι	υ
natural length:	96	90	128	73	75	69
metrical length:	3	5	7	1	1	—
analogical forms:	6	—	—	—	—	—
Total:	105	95	135	74	76	69=554

Examples of this position are then quite frequent. With regard to other parts of the verse it is to be noted that the form of the words precludes of course their use either at the beginning or end of the line. It also prevents their standing with the long syllable under the third ictus as this would entail a diaeresis after the third foot. Not a single example of this occurs in the six books. For A 53 and 55 cf. Delbrueck, Grundr. III, p. 656. Of the two possible positions remaining, the first, with the long syllable under the second ictus, is in itself apparently unobjectionable. Examples are however very rare: A 78 *ὄτομαι*; A 10, 384 *ἀνὰ στρατόν*, A 426 *ἔπειρά τοι*; in Z none; in Ω 515 *ἀπὸ θρόνου*, 619 *ἔπειρά κεν*, 342 (*ἐπ'*) *ἀπείρονα (γαῖαν)*; in α 98 (*ἐπ'*) *ἀπείρονα (γαῖαν)*; in ι none; in υ 158 *εἰκόσι*; a total of nine examples as opposed to 554. The only explanation I have to offer for the avoidance of the form in this position is, that its use before the Bucolic Diaeresis is extremely desirable as yielding the best caesura and best diaeresis, and hence it is extravagance to use such forms elsewhere.²

With regard to the last possibility, viz. the long syllable standing under the fifth ictus, the case is somewhat different. The position is objectionable *per se* because it involves a caesura after the fourth trochee, which division is forbidden because it suggests the close of the line at this point, cf. Leaf, Iliad, II App. N, p. 635. No example of this occurs in the six books examined except Ω 526 *αὐτοὶ δέ τ' ἀκηδέες εἰσιν*, where the elision removes the difficulty. This objection is however obviated if a preceding monosyllable

¹ As Solmsen says, p. 132, anm. 1, "Es kommt für unsere zwecke nicht auf absolute zuverlässigkeit der zahlen an, annähernde richtigkeit genügt".

² In confirmation it may be noted that setting aside the phrase *ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν* of which this is not true, a large proportion of the examples come from A, the author of which could best afford such extravagance.

forms with the word a word-group of the type $\cup\cup - \cup\cup$. Examples of this are naturally rare: A 33 καὶ ἐπείθετο, A 350 ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πόντον (v. l. ἐπὶ οἶνοπα πόντον), A 576 τὰ χερεῖονα; Z 171 ὑπ' ἀμύμονι πομπῇ, Z 521 ὅς ἐναΐσιμος εἶη; Ω 42 καὶ ἀγήγορι θυμῷ, Ω 67 οἱ ἐν Ἰλίου εἰσίν, Ω 200=424 καὶ ἀμείβετο μύθῳ, Ω 223 καὶ ἐσέδρακον, Ω 570 καὶ ἐπείθετο; in α none, as ὁ γε τέρπετο is to be read in α 26; ι 85 καὶ ἀφυσσάμεθ' ὕδωρ, ι 265 καὶ ἀπώλεσε λαούς; in ν none. The total number of examples is 13 (12). It is furthermore to be noted that with a single exception all these examples contain words beginning with a vowel. This is not an accidental coincidence but a necessary condition as the closely united monosyllable is usually obtained either by shortening καί or by eliding the vowel of a preposition. It would be difficult to suggest another way in which this could be done except by the use of the neuter of the article, which would of course be rare. Now a large proportion of the words with metrical lengthening begin with a consonant and are thus excluded from the slight possibility of entering the verse in this place.

The distribution of the form $\cup - \cup\cup$ in the verse is shown by the following table:

	A	Z	Ω	α	ι	ν	Total
$\cup \bar{\cup} \cup\cup$	105	95	135	74	76	69	554
$\cup \bar{\cup} \cup\cup$	4	—	3	1	—	1	9
$\cup \bar{\cup} \cup\cup$	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
(\cup) $\cup \bar{\cup} \cup\cup$	3 (2)	2	6	—	2	—	13 (12)

Under these circumstances it is manifestly erroneous to pick out 17 instances that possess a characteristic in common (in this case metrical lengthening) and argue that, because all of these instances fall in the position that has 544 out of the examples, therefore the poet felt that these words could be used only in this position. One could prove in the same way that all words of this type that began with sigma (or any other consonant except chi) could be used only before the Bucolic Diaeresis. Indeed if one wished to maintain that all such words beginning with a consonant were used only in that position, he would have a much larger number of examples and but a single exception. If on the other hand it is urged that the six books are only one eighth of the poems, and that with the increase of bulk some exceptions should appear, unless the poet is consciously treating this class of words in a

separate fashion, the answer is to be found in the two exceptions already mentioned.¹

A consideration of the words of the form $\cup\cup\text{—}\cup\cup$ will strengthen my conclusion. For these Solmsen points out, p. 41 ff., that the analogical forms occur with the long syllable under the fifth ictus, but maintains that all certain instances of metrical lengthening: *ἐνδείελος*, -ον, -ου; *κατακείται*, *κατακείμετε*; *μετεκτάθον*, *μετεκτάθε*; *μαχεοῦμενον*, -οι are confined to the position before the Bucolic Diaeresis. The same is true also for the proper names: *Δολοπτόνος*, *Ῥπερτίονος*, *Ῥπερτίονι*, *Ῥπερτίονα*. Towards the other examples claimed by Schulze which occur chiefly with the long syllable under the fifth ictus: *ἀριδείκετος*, -ον, -ε, -α; *ἀποφάλιος*, -οι, α; *ἀπερείσια*, -οι, -αι, -ον, Solmsen takes a sceptical attitude without claiming to do more than to show another possible explanation. If these examples are to be excluded his rule holds equally for both classes; if not, it merely shows that the poets handled the five-syllable words with more freedom than the quadrisyllables. As before it is necessary to add the instances of metrical lengthening in word-groups and these are clearly divided between the two positions. Before the Bucolic Diaeresis: *Στυγὸς ὕδατος* K 514. B 755. Θ 369. *σχεδὸν ὕδατος* ε 475; *παρὰ πύελον* τ 553; *δόρυ μείλιον* E 666. 694. Π 114. 814. Φ 178; *δόμον Ἄιδος* Υ 336; *μέγα κουλεόν* Γ 272. T 253; *ἐπὶ δειέλα* Hes. E. 810 821; *ρίον οὔρεος* Hymn I. 139; and with the long syllable under the fifth ictus: *τεὸν οὐνομα* ι 355; *κνέφας ἱερὸν* Δ 194. 209. P 455. *φάος ἱερὸν* Hes. E 339; *δόμον Ἄιδος* ι 524. λ 150. 627. ψ 252. Γ 322. Η 131. Δ 263. Ξ 457. Ω 246; *περὶ κουλεόν* Δ 30; *ἀνὰ οὐλαμόν* Δ 251. 273. Υ 113.

The reason of this difference is now apparent. While the quadrisyllabic words are for the reasons given almost entirely confined to the position before the Bucolic Diaeresis, the words with five syllables are also freely used under the fifth ictus, because they do not produce the forbidden caesura after the trochee of the fourth foot. Instances of these words under the second ictus are rare because the possibility of their occurring in this place is limited to such lines as begin with a monosyllable. The only examples in these six books are: Ω 342 *ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν* = α 98.²

¹ Apropos of Solmsen's discussion of words of the form $\text{—}\text{—}\cup\cup$ of which he finds no certain example, p. 68, but which he believes should be confined, if occurring, to the place before the Bucolic Diaeresis, I may call attention to the groups: in this position σ 3 *καὶ πῖμεν*, χ 493 *καὶ θῆιον*; with the long syllable under the second ictus Δ 220 *ἐς κουλεόν*; under the fifth ictus π 143 *καὶ πῖμεν*.

² Such examples are repeated here, which is the place where they properly belong. Their exclusion would not affect the result.

α 183 ἐπὶ οἶνοπα πόντον. Under the fifth ictus occur in Α 16 examples, in Ζ 15, in Ω 17, in α 14, in ι 33 and in υ 16, a total of 111 examples.¹ For the same reasons as before the figures given by Solmsen for the position before the Bucolic Diaeresis cannot be used for comparison. In Α, according to my count, the instances in that position are not quite double those under the fifth ictus; in υ the occurrences nearly balance 11 : 16. The other books will probably vary between these figures. These facts make it clear why the metrical lengthening in this type of words is found in both of these positions.

With Solmsen's proof that words of all three types 1. υ υ υ υ. 2. υ υ υ υ. 3. υ υ υ υ ~ may become either —υυ(—) or υ—υυ, attention must again be directed to the fact that we have no *ἀθάνατος by the side of ἄθάνατος no *διφιλος by the side of διτφιλος. For Schulze this problem did not exist as the form of lengthening was determined by the type of the word. Solmsen's explanation that the form of lengthening is dependent upon the position in the verse, would lead us to expect such doublets which do not occur except in two cases. For *μαχεομενος we have both μαχειόμενος ρ 471, and μαχεοῦμενον λ 403 ~ ω 113. Not only are these passages late but the form *μαχεομενος is late *per se*, for the present μαχέομαι rests on a misunderstanding of the future μαχέομαι after μαχήσομαι had displaced it. As a present, μαχέομαι occurs only in Α 272, a late passage, and in Α 344 where it must be emended. The metrical lengthening in ἀπερείσιος and ἀπειρείσιος is questioned by Solmsen, p. 43 f.: his explanation is that ἀπειρείσιος > *ἀπειρετιος : πείρατα = *Τερεσιος > *Τερετιος : τέρατα, and that ἀπερείσιος is due to an interchange of the vowels of the neighboring syllables in the spoken language. The obstacle to this is that the form ἀπερείσιος occurs in two evidently old formulae ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα and ἀπερείσια ἔδνα, and is attested from the oldest parts of the poems on Α 13 etc., while the examples of ἀπειρείσιος come from one of the latest books of the Iliad Υ 58, the Odyssey ι 118. λ 621. τ 174 and

¹The references are Α 5. 33. 90. 98. 255. 256. 275. 350. 388. 401. 422. 466. 545. 565. 574. 576. Ζ 31. 44. 116=263=359=369=440=520. 136. 148. 171. 175. 178. 486. 512. Ω 42. 158=[187]. 200=424. 223. 283. 322. 348. 374. 570. 624. 661. 754. 766. 785. 788. 802. α 75. 79. 114. 116. 152. 153. 194. 203. 205. 233. 273. 303. 371. 383. 425. ι 2. 4. 5. 62=105=565. 85. 94. 152=170=307=437=560. 158. 189=428. 197. 214=514. 234=249. 265. 279. 284. 301=500. 379. 441. 487. 501. 516. 545. 554. υ 53. 56. 84. 99. 143. 201. 225=319. 235. 247. 258. 270. 280. 287. 315. 387.

Hesiod, fr. 58. 3; 156. 4. It is much more probable that ἀπειρέσιος is a modification of ἀπερείσιος under the influence of ἀπείρων and that Schulze's explanation of ἀπερείσιος is correct.

The consistency then observable in the scansion of each word points to my mind to the conclusion that the metrical lengthening was in the main a pre-Homeric process, in other words, that the authors of our poems did not know ἀθάνατος and διίφιλος as words of four short syllables which they adapted to their verse by lengthening now the first, now the second vowel, but that they received from their predecessors the pronunciation ᾠθάνατος and διίφιλος as part of their conventional poetic equipment. The variation of these poetic pronunciations from those of daily life was observable and led undoubtedly to attempts at similar formations. The wavering between μαχειόμενος and μαχεούμενον enables us to detect one of these, although in the main we are unable to follow the process in detail.

If we are thus absolved from the necessity of finding in the Homeric poems themselves the conditions under which the metrical lengthening originated, I may suggest tentatively the following explanation of a large part of the phenomena. There is evidence for the fact that originally great liberty was allowed in the quantity of the first syllable—the στίχοι ἀκέφαλοι being the last vestiges of such a usage. That is, such series as

1. —υυ | —υυ | —υ

and

2. υυυ | —υυ | —υ

were allowed as equivalents in spite of actual variation in the quantity of the first syllable. With the improvement of the metre the second form was then restricted to cases in which the word could not otherwise be brought into the metre—with the addition of others in which there was question not of metrical necessity but of metrical convenience helped we may suppose by frequency of previous usage. The consequence of this restriction is greatly to decrease the occurrence of the second series, and this fact combined with a continued striving after smoother metre would lead to an actual lengthening in the pronunciation of the vowel in the first syllable. The poetic pronunciation thus established would then be permitted in other parts of the verse. There were,

however, cf. Gleditsch, Mueller's Handbuch II², p. 717, dactylic series with anacrusis. These may be represented as

$$\begin{array}{c} \cup : \cup \cup \cup | - \cup \cup | - \cup \\ \cup \cup : \cup \cup \cup | - \cup \cup | - \cup \end{array}$$

and enable us to account in the same way for the lengthening of the second and third syllables. From their form some words were capable but of one treatment; but when this was not the case usage seems to have settled upon one form or the other before the composition of our hymns. The factors that controlled this choice it is impossible to determine. Two may in general be indicated: 1st, the phrases in which a word was most frequently used, and 2d, the desire to keep the lengthened form as closely as possible in touch with its kindred. That we have *ἄθάνατος* not **ἄθῶνατος* is due in part to the influence of *θάνατος*; that we have *διίφιλος* not **διφιλος* is due in part to the dative with long iota however that ending may be explained.

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III.—ON SUNDRY CONFIXES.

Nothing could be more important in morphological studies than to make collections of words arranged by their suffixes; and when any considerable number of instances of the same suffix is in phonetic accord in various languages the inference that the suffix was proethnic is almost unavoidable. This in turn leads to all manner of adjustments as between stem and suffix to bring them into phonetic accord. If such adjustments are discreetly made the stems and suffixes rouse in our minds a feeling that they were actual and not merely postulated entities. The stem or root parts of words we often succeed in satisfactorily defining, but the greater actuality the suffix acquires as a proethnic entity, the more elusive it becomes in point of definition; the more certain its formula becomes, the less it invites the pragmatic man in us to its interpretation as a fact. But, if we are to probe after the fact behind the formula, we must resist the spell of the equation, with its $x y z$, and attack individual words or groups, as they appear in individual languages; not forgetting as we do it that the pragmatic objection is as easy to make as it is hard to refute. The goal to reach is to find the compounding word from which the suffix got its start; and this method of explanation again involves phonetic adjustments as between prior and posterior members of the compounds postulated. With so much by way of preamble,¹ I turn to a discussion of the following words:

1) Paconian *μόναπος* 'bison.'

Not long ago, in the pages of this Journal,² I derived *ἄνθρωπος* 'man' from *ἄντρο* + *-ώπος* or *-όπος*, with the definition 'cave-dwelling' or, to define it in Latin, for the sake of the etymology of the second member of the compound, 'spelunci-saepis';³ and similarly I explained *κύκλωψ* as 'rotundi-saepis'; justifying *-ώπος*

¹ See further A. J. P. XXV, 177.

² XXV, 312 fg.

³ An interesting early analysis of the possessive or *bahuvrīhi* occurs in Varro, *Menip.*, 179 quid? tu non vides in vineis, quod tria pala habeant, tripales dici?

and - $\omega\psi$ by Latin *saepis/sēps*, and postulating a base $\text{SĒ-P-}/\text{SĒ-BH-}$,¹ which I should now prefer to write $\text{SĒ(Y)-P- SĒ(Y)-BH-}$, to account for the Latin spelling *saepis*. To this group I would now add Skr. *sabha* 'conventio, domus' and Goth. *sibja* 'sippe.'

The Cyclopes (see Euripides in his *Cyclops*, 21) were $\mu\omicron\nu\omega\pi\epsilon\varsigma$ 'one-eyed', and so were the Arimaspians (Aeschylus, *Prom.* 804). Here we must have a case of fable originating in "disease of language", to use what is, after all, a very convenient name for one aspect of "popular etymology". In Homer (*Odys.* 9. 112 fg.) the Cyclopes dwelt in caves, each giving laws to his own children and wives, and recking not the one of the other; and Polyphemus, at least, dwelt in solitude (*ibid.* 410), was $\mu\omicron\nu\omega\psi$, 'singulāri-saepis.'

This brings us to the Paeonian name of the bison or buffalo, $\mu\omicron\nu\nu\alpha\pi\omicron\varsigma$ (Aristotle, *H. A.*, 9. 45, 1) $\mu\omicron\nu\nu\alpha\iota\pi\omicron\varsigma$ (*ib.* *Mirab.* 1), and $\mu\omicron\nu\omega\psi$ (Aelian, *N. A.*, 7, 3), which has not inappropriately been interpreted by 'iubatus', and connected with the group to which English *mane*, Lat. *monile* 'necklace' belongs.² Another designation appropriate to the bison bull would be 'solitary' (cf. Fr. *sanglier* < *singularem* 'wild boar'; $\mu\omicron\nu\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$, same sense), for the encyclopaedias tell us that the Wiesent lives alone.³ Accordingly, if we may venture to analyze a Paeonian word by Greek phonetic laws, we might derive our forms from *mono-* 'solitary' + *hapos/haipos/hōps* 'dwelling', though even so we need not exclude the interpretation 'mane-hedged', say 'saeti-sēptus', a definition also applicable to the name $\mu\omicron\nu\nu\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ⁴ 'bison', which may be analyzed as *mono* + *hōtos* (: Lat. *saeta*),⁵ and defined by 'mane-haired.'

Whether this analysis will accord with Paeonian phonetics, I cannot say, but the only assumption of moment is that intervocalic (or initial) *s* in Paeonian became an aspirate: all the rest would seem not in disaccord with the slight Paeonian vocabulary now under control.⁶

In conclusion, we may note a curious correspondence between the $\mu\omicron\nu\nu\alpha\pi\omicron\varsigma$ of Aristotle (in Aelian, $\mu\omicron\nu\nu\omega\pi\epsilon\varsigma$) and the Cyclopes, who were also $\mu\omicron\nu\omega\pi\epsilon\varsigma$ (with a different accent), for Aristotle tells a

¹ l. c. 309, fn. 1.

² See Froehde in *BB.* 20, 210.

³ See also Parker, *Oregon Trail*, Ch. VII, "a solitary buffalo bull."

⁴ Cited from Antigonus Carystius (*B. C.* 250); but here the emendation of $\mu\omicron\nu\nu\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$ to $\mu\omicron\nu\nu\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$ readily suggests itself.

⁵ See A. J. P., XXVI, 183.

⁶ See Kretschmer, *Gesch. d. Griech. Spr.* I, 246-249.

queer tale to the effect that the *μόναποι*, before parturition, enclosed themselves in walls of dung. The coincidence of this tale with the tradition that the Cyclopes were wall-builders raises the question whether the term *μόνωπες* (*μονῶπες*) was associated with the building of walls.

And yet another possibility: in both his accounts of the Paeonian buffalo Aristotle locates the animal in the mountains, which suggests that *μονο-* is a cognate of Latin *mons*, cf. Gallic *Herminius* (*mons*).

2) *ἡμεδ-απός* 'nostras'; *ποδ-απός* 'cuias.'

These words, assuming the correctness of the current division, as printed, invite interpretation by 'nostri praesepis', 'cuius praesepis' or, in German, 'von unserer—, welcher sippe.' This in turn leads to their derivation, so far as the "suffix" is concerned, from *-άπος*, cognate with *praesēpe*, Skr. *sabhā*, Goth. *sibja*.

Can it be that *ἡμεδ-* is a genuine ablative (cf. Skr. *asmād* 'nobis'), and *-άπος* an abl.-gen. from a weak stem *səp-*? Supposing a primitive locution like *πὸδ-άπος ἔρχεαι* 'quo (ex) praesepi advenis', it were easy to mistake *ποδαπός* for a nominative. The type is as old as the Homeric poems, in which *ἄλλοδαπός* 'alius praesepis' is not uncommon.

3) Gothic *fram-aps* 'alienus.'

Satisfactory cognates for Skr. *ātati* 'errat', *āti-this* 'erro, hospes' have not been pointed out. We would naturally write for these words the bases *ETE-/OTO-/* and *ETə-*, and the suffix of *āti-this* may be identical with the "suffix" of Lat. *hostis*, from *ε)GHOS-(S)TIS*.¹ Here also we might put the preposition-adverb *āti* 'beyond.'

In Gothic *fram-aps* 'stranger', identical in its first part with English *from* 'ab', we might regard *-aps* as a cognate of *ātati*; and so, in Latin, *com-es* 'companion' would naturally derive from *com-ets*.

4) *ἔται* 'socii, comites, clientes.'

This Homeric word has generally been explained as a derivation of the group of which Lat. *suus* may be taken as a representative, and the startform **σFέται* may be taken as nearly certain.

¹ See Mod. Lang. Notes 22, 38.

We may, however, explain σF - as a reduction of the preposition whose Greek form is $\sigma\upsilon\nu$, but which appears in a shorter form in Lith. *sū*, O. B. *sū*-; thus $*\sigma F\text{-}\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ is directly comparable in formation with Lat. *comes* and Gothic *framaps*.

5) $\epsilon\theta\nu\omicron\varsigma$ 'tribe.'

With $\epsilon\theta\nu\omicron\varsigma$ I think of a nomadic race, and that it may be derived from $*\epsilon\tau\text{-}\sigma\nu\omicron\varsigma$, or rather, $*\epsilon\tau\text{-}\hbar\nu\omicron\varsigma$. This I am tempted further to analyze, and define as 'wandering-band', explaining $\epsilon\tau$ - as above in $\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, and guessing that $\text{-}\sigma\nu\omicron\varsigma$ may be derived from the base $SN\bar{E}(Y)$ - as found in Skr. *snāyus* 'band, sinew.' The Homeric attest of F - would demand a startform $*\sigma F\text{-}\epsilon\theta\nu\omicron\varsigma$ 'co-wandering band', but in $\delta\theta\nu\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$ 'alienus' a form without σF - would seem to appear.

6) $\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$, $\xi\upsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$.

I have, in another place,¹ explained $\xi\epsilon\nu F\omicron\varsigma$ 'stranger' from $\epsilon)\xi$ 'out' + $\epsilon\nu F\omicron\varsigma$ 'incola' (: $\sqrt{\text{wes}}$ 'habitare'). This explanation is also applicable to $*\mu\omicron\nu\text{-}F\omicron\varsigma$ 'solus-habitans', in which $\text{-}F\omicron\varsigma$ has sunk to a minimum of meaning. We may recognize the same "confix"—for this seems to me a convenient term for a suffix developed from a wider application of what was once a compounding final—in $\xi\upsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$, if this be from $*\xi\upsilon\nu F\omicron\varsigma$. The length of the υ would probably assign the word to a non-Attic dialect. It is quite true that in $\xi\upsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$, quasi 'communis', the sense of $\text{-}F\omicron\varsigma$ has almost vanished—but cf. the derivatives Doric $\xi\nu\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu$ and Sophocles' $\xi\nu\nu\acute{\omega}\nu$ 'amicus'—not appreciably more, however, than in *communis* the etymological sense of $\text{-}munis$ has grown pale.²

7) Latin *quōdius* 'whose?'

In view of Skr. *madīyas* 'mine', currently explained as coming from the ablv. *mad*- + a suffix $\text{-}īyas$,³ we might set up for *quōdius* the startform $*quōdīus$, in which $\text{-}ius$ is a "possessive" suffix added to the ablative *quōd* (? or to the neuter acc. *quod*?). The same formation is found in Osc. *pūiū* 'quoia' and, as the Italic dialects do not show conclusively any other phonetic treatment of $\text{-}dy$ -, I lean to the conviction that the uniform product was $\text{-}j$ -, a conviction for which all general analogy would seem to pronounce.

¹ Mod. Lang. Notes, l. c.; cf. Class. Quarterly 1, no. 1.

² I feel in *com-munis* some trace of *moenia*, as well as of *munia*, though Walde does not mention the former.

³ See Brugmann, KvGr. §§ 520, 524.

It is clear how easily this possessive with masculine nouns would have been felt as a genitive, and the undifferentiation of *quis* for sex-gender would help *quius* to do duty for both sex-genders. As the old locative genitive *quōi* was doing further duty as a dative the pair *quoi/quius* gave rise to *ēi* : *ēius*, *hūi(c)* : *hūius*, *illi* : *illius*, etc.

The assumed derivation furnishes a clue for the preciser definition of the suffix *yo* which indicates "Besitz, Abstammung und sonstige Arten der Zugehörigkeit."¹ If we start with "Abstammung" it is hard not to guess—however little we can prove—that *-yo-* belongs with \sqrt{ey} 'ire'; and so also might *-iyas* in Skr. *madīyas*, which would thus mean 'a me iens.'

I now pass to a discussion of some troublesome instances of the appearance of *-ēnus* in Latin, apparently parallel with *-ānus*, or *-īnus*.

8) Latin *laniena*.

Skutsch's theory that in *laniena* and *aliēnus*² *iē* is dissimilated from *iī* has been questioned rather than seriously disproved. The evidence of a word like *Tullianum*, to say nothing of *Sestiānus* and its kind, should throw grave doubt on the supposed dissimilation; nor will anyone, I suppose, now question that in *societas*, *pietas*, etc. *-ie-* was reached from *-io-* on its way to *-ii-* and not by dissimilation from *-ii-*.

From *laniena* (and *aliēnus*) evidence has been drawn for a proethnic suffix *-EYNO/-OYNO*, ultimately reducible to locatives in *-EY/OY*, extended by *NO*;³ and it has been assumed that *-iei-* *-ioi-* would yield Latin *-iē-*. But all this explanation seems to me probably beside the mark. I see no reason to doubt that the flexional type of *lanio* (preserved in the Digest) is not at least as old as the type of *lanius* and, granting this, the flexion *lanio* gen. **lanienis* may be compared with *Neriō Neriēnis*, *Aniō Aniēnis*; and in view of *Aniēnus* we may derive an adjectival *laniena* from *laniō*.⁴

But *laniena* may be a Latin compound, *laniē-* (cf. *socie-tas*) + *vēna*, cognate with *vēnus* (? *vēnum*) 'sale', though in the com-

¹ See Brugmann, Grundriss, II¹ § 63, p. 118.

² See Walde's lexicon, s. v.

³ Brugmann, Grundriss, II², § 188.

⁴ See Brugmann, l. c. § 184, Anm.

plexes *vēn(um)-it* and *ven(um)-dat*, I always think of *vēnum* (like *domum*) as 'market'. The contraction of **lānie-vēna* to *laniēna* seems not essentially to differ from *obliviscor* > *obliscor*. Varro is cited¹ for *ex tabernis lanienis*, whence we may infer a fully inflected adjective **laniēnus*, -a-, -um. Compounds with -*vēnus* would be genuine Latin alongside the Greekish compounds in -*polium*; cf. Plautus, Ep. 198,

per medicinas per tonstrinas, in gymnasio atque in foro
per myropolia et lanienas circumque argentarias.

Nor need we postulate a formal compound. Supposing **laniēna*, like *medicina* and *tonstrina*, to have been in existence, as it was the "place for the sale of meat" *vēnus* 'sale' may have affected it.

9) Latin *aliēnus*.

The prevailing possessive use of *aliēnus* predisposes us to see in it the same formation that we recognize in Goth. *meins*.² But this is by no means inevitable, for *alienus*, as early as it is of record, distinctly means 'stranger' and 'strange', and may have gone through the same semantic development as Gothic *framaps*, which has reached in German *fremd* the following usage: "fremd im gegensatz zu eigen: fremdes eigentum; menge dich nicht in fremde sachen; sich mit fremden federn schmücken u. s. w."³ If we start with 'stranger' as the original sense we may postulate a startform **aliē(d)- + uēnus* 'from elsewhere coming', comparing *advena*, *convena* 'stranger', which have taken the flexional type of *incola* 'inhabitant, native'.⁴

Niedermann⁵ has derived *aliēnus* from **al-yes-nos*, seeing in -*yes*- a comparative suffix. In this I cannot follow him. I feel no comparative force in *ἀλλότριος* 'alienus', which I derive from an adverb **αλλοτρα* 'otherwhere'⁶ and define by 'from otherwhere coming' > 'belonging to another.' The comparative suffix in *ἡμέτερος ὑμέτερος* might seem in point, but here, as (ultimately) in *ἀλλότριος*, -*τερος*... -*τερος* are contrasting suffixes, just as in *alter*... *alter*, while the possession rests in *ἡμε-*, *ὑμε-*. So, in view of the

¹ Cf. Non. 532. 20.

² See Brugmann, l. c. § 188 (p. 274).

³ Cited from Heyne's Deutsches Woerterbuch.

⁴ Possibly also *peregrinus* is a compound of **peregrī(d?) + -venus*.

⁵ BB. 25, 83.

⁶ Prellwitz compares Sk. *anydtra*.

possessive force of the Sanskrit gen. plurals *nas vas*, contrast, not possession, may be the value of the *-ter* of *noster vester*.

10) *Fibrēnus* 'Beaver-burn'.

In view of *Aniēnus*, byform to *Anio*, Gen. *Aniēnis*, it would seem unnecessary in this Volscian river name to explain *-ēnus* from proethnic *-eino-/-oino-*. Here also we may have a compound. The widely diffused base of Greek *φρίαρ* is set down as *BHRĒW*, of which the English representative is *bourne, burn*, from a stem *BHRUN-*;¹ if we may imagine a strong stem *BHRĒ(W)NO*, then *Fibrēnus* might be from a compound **fī[bro]-brēnus*, and mean 'Beaver-burn.'

11) Latin *terrēnus*.

This word meets its simplest explanation by adducing the stem **tīres*, attested by O. Ir. *tír*.² It is not to be denied, however, that it may be of the same derivation as *terreus*, in which case the stem *TERREYO*-³ had beside it *TERREY-NO-*, and the special phonetic treatment that yielded *terrēnus* may have been vowel assimilation from the *e* of the first syllable.

12) Plautine *sociennus* (Plautus *Aulularia* 659).

Neither of the current explanations⁴ of this hapax compels conviction. The passage is,

ibo intro atque illi socienno tuo iam interstringam gulam;

and the situation is as follows:

Euclio, the miser, while seeking to hide his money-pot, had been startled first by a cook, and then by his would-be son-in-law, Megadorus, who had sent the cook in to prepare the wedding-feast. In the altercation with Megadorus he shows some disgust at all the food and the tribe of cooks that had been sent into the house, and suspects Megadorus of planning to get him drunk and steal his pot of money. Soon he discovers in an adjoining room the servant of his daughter's lover, and at once suspects him of being another who would rob him of his treasure. While searching him he hears a noise in the next room and makes ready to go and choke (*interstringere* here only, it would seem, in Plautus) a

¹ Brugmann, l. c. § 455.

² See Thurneysen in KZ. 28, 147.

³ Cf. Brugmann l. c. § 122.

⁴ See Walde's lexicon, s. v. *socius*.

supposed confederate of the slave he has in hand, and this confederate he calls *sociennus*. Supposing the scene with the greedy cook still to be lingering in his mind, we may suspect that *sociennus* is a translation of *σύσσιτος* 'mess-mate'. Thus *socius* 'comes' would be extended in *sociennus* to the sense 'companion' (from *com* + *panis*): thus explained, *sociennus* contains in its last member a derivation of *edit* 'eats', say **eda-nos* 'eater', cognate with Gr. *ἐδανόν*, Skr. *annam*: Lat. *edō* 'glutton.' The combination of *socienno* with *interstringam gulam* lies in the same metaphorical plane as our colloquial 'to choke the stuffing out of one'.

Or, if the Greek original had *ὁμηλιξ* 'comrade', *sociennus* might mean 'qui socios annos habet,'¹ cf.

Promissus socios ubi nunc Hymenaeus in annos,
Qui mihi coniugii sponsor et obses erat?

If the formation of *sociennus* was inspired by a proper name—and Schulze² has given a most ingenious interpretation of Laberius' homo *levenna* as 'levis ἐκ τριγωνίας'—I think rather of the type of Osc. *Perkednies* (gen.) 'Percenni' which, if known to Plautus, was liable to off-hand interpretation as 'qui percas edit'.³

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¹Ovid, *Her.*, 2, 33-34.

²Latein. Eigennamen, 283.

³Cf. *Captivi* 160, where the changes are rung on Pistorenses, etc.

IV.—'ΕCΤΩC OR 'ΕCΤOC?

For nearly two millennia it seems to have been a mooted question whether the neuter participle of the second perfect of verbs having $\bar{\alpha}$ -themes should be spelled with $\bar{\omega}\varsigma$ or $\bar{o}\varsigma$, or, in other words, whether this form contracts $\bar{\alpha}\bar{o}\varsigma$ into $\bar{\omega}\varsigma$ or assumes the characteristic desinence $\bar{o}\varsigma$ of non-thematic verbs.

A brief sketch of the curious see-saw of fortune that has marked the conflict between these forms may well serve to preface the presentation of evidence not hitherto adduced in this connection.

The early printed texts, Aldine, Juntine, etc., seem, from the citations made, to be almost, if not quite, unanimous in support of the $\bar{\omega}\varsigma$ form. These, however, as is well known, were not always based upon the earlier or better MSS. Some three centuries later, as a result of the more careful study of the best MSS, it was found that the testimony¹ of these was strong in favor of the $\bar{o}\varsigma$ form. This accordingly began to gain ground. Buttmann adopted it in his Grammar and Bekker used it in his texts. Hermann ad Soph. O. T. 633, Poppo ad Thuc. III. 9 and Schneider ad Plat. Civ. III, p. 88 sqq., gave their support to it and it became the common form in texts and grammars.

¹ Plato has $\bar{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ eleven times,—Parm. 146 a (bis), 156 c (ter), 156 e, 163 e; Soph. 249 a, 250 c; Theaet. 183 e; Tim. 40 b: $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ twice, Tim. 46 b; Legg. 794 d: $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, Crit. 113 c; $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, Tim. 33 c; $\pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, Rep. VIII. 564 d; $\xi\nu\nu\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, Tim. 56 b. In every instance the best MSS, i. e. B and T for the Parm., Soph. and Theaet.; A and D for the Rep. and A for the other works cited, give the form in $\bar{o}\varsigma$. A later hand has corrected A in every instance to $\bar{\omega}\varsigma$ or $\bar{\omega}\varsigma$; B and T in Theaet. 183 e have also been so changed by a second hand.

Thucydides has $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ (III. 9) and $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ (IV. 10). In the former case Hude cites CEM for $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, AGE₂ for $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ and BF for $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$; in the latter case, he cites CEM again for the $\bar{o}\varsigma$ form, BFG for the $\bar{\omega}\varsigma$ form and A for the $\bar{\omega}\varsigma$ form.

Sophocles in O. T. 633 has $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ acc. to the reading of the Laurentianus; all other MSS cited have $\bar{\omega}\varsigma$.

Aristophanes in Eq. 564 has $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ in the Ravennas; all other MSS cited by Van Velsen or Blaydes have the $\bar{\omega}\varsigma$ form.

In fact the $\omega\varsigma$ form seemed utterly doomed, when in 1879, O. Riemann entered the lists in its support by a short article in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (III. 440 ff.). His main contribution to the question was his citation of the *Κανόνες* of the grammarian Theognostus, of the ninth century, and of the *Etymologicum Magnum* of the tenth, as establishing the correctness of the orthography with $\omega\varsigma$.

Only in a short footnote did Riemann refer, without citing, to the great grammarian Herodianus of the second century as the undoubted ultimate source whence these later works drew. Of Choeroboscus, of the sixth century, he made no mention at all.¹

Without this additional support, Riemann's attack has proved to possess such elements of strength that it is making steady progress in dislodging the $\omega\varsigma$ form from the strongly intrenched position it was holding. To cite but a few typical instances:

¹ For convenience the statements of these grammarians are here given in chronological order:

HERODIANUS (Lentz I. 351):—Αἱ εἰς $\omega\varsigma$ μετοχαὶ ἀπὸ περισπωμένων κατὰ πάθος γινόμεναι καὶ φυλάττονται τὸ ω ἐπὶ τῆς γενικῆς τοῦ ἀρσενικοῦ ὁμοτονοῦντα ἔχουσι τὰ οὐδέτερα, βεβῶς βεβῶτος τὸ βεβῶς, γεγῶς γεγῶτος τὸ γεγῶς, ἐστῶς ἐστῶτος τὸ ἐστῶς, τεθνῶς τεθνῶτος τὸ τεθνῶς. μονογενὲς δὲ οὐδέτερον εἰς $\omega\varsigma$ οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν πλὴν τοῦ φῶς καὶ τοῦ ὤς.

CHOEROBOSCUS (Hilgard Gram. Graec. IV. 2. p. 313, l. 22 ff.), after discussing the neut. pple. τετυφός, adds: 'Ιστέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἐστῶς καὶ βεβῶς καὶ τεθνῶς καὶ γεγῶς διὰ τοῦ ω γράφονται, δηλονότι κατὰ τὰ οὐδέτερα.

That he was acquainted with the variant orthography appears from the immediate sequence: δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο γινώσκειν, ὅτι εἰ καὶ ἡ ἐνικὴ εὐθεία κατὰ τὸ οὐδέτερον καὶ αἱ ὁμοφωνοῦσαι αὐτῇ <πτῶσεις>, τουτέστιν ἡ αἰτιατικὴ καὶ ἡ κλητικὴ τῶν ἐνικῶν, διφοροῦνται, ἡγουν καὶ διὰ τοῦ ω γράφονται καὶ διὰ τοῦ \omicron , ἀλλ' οὖν αἱ λοιπαὶ πλάγιοι αἱ <μη> ὁμοφωνοῦσαι τῇ ἐνικῇ εὐθείᾳ, λέγω δὴ ἡ γενικὴ καὶ δοτικὴ τῶν ἐνικῶν καὶ τὰ δοικὰ καὶ τὰ πληθυντικά, μόνως διὰ τοῦ ω γράφονται· τούτου δὲ αἰτία ἐστὶν ἡ κρᾶσις.

THEOGNOSTUS (Cramer Anec. Oxon. II. p. 119, l. 21 ff.): Εἰς $\omega\varsigma$ μέγα λήγον οὐδέτερον οὔτε ὄνομα οὔτε μετοχὴν ἔστιν εὐρεῖν, [εἰ] μὴ ἐκ πάθους γεγένηται, πλὴν τοῦ φῶς καὶ τοῦ ὤς. . . . πρόσκειται ὀνόματα, ἐπεὶ πολλάκις αἱ εἰς $\omega\varsigma$ μετοχαὶ ἀπὸ περισπωμένων κατὰ πάθος γινόμεναι καὶ φυλάττονται τὸ ω ἐπὶ τῆς γενικῆς τοῦ ἀρσενικοῦ ἔχουσι τὸ οὐδέτερον εἰς $\omega\varsigma$. ὁ βεβῶς βεβῶτος καὶ τὸ βεβῶς, ὁ γεγῶς γεγῶτος καὶ τὸ γεγῶς, ὁ ἐστῶς ἐστῶτος τὸ ἐστῶς, ὁ τεθνῶς τοῦ τεθνῶτος καὶ τὸ τεθνῶς.

IBID. (p. 152, l. 15 ff.): Αἱ εἰς $\omega\varsigma$ πεπονθυῖαι μετοχαὶ τὸ οὐδέτερον ἔχουσι διὰ τοῦ ω μεγάλου γραφόμενον οἶον, τὸ ἐστῶς· τὸ βεβῶς· τὸ γεγῶς.

ETYMOLOGICUM MAGNUM, s. v. Γεγῶσα: καὶ ἐστὶ σεσημειωμένον τὸ γεγαῶς, μεμῶς, βεβαῶς, ἐσταῶς· ἅπερ κατὰ κράσιν (sic) γίνεται, γεγῶς, γεγῶτος, μεμῶς, μεμῶτος, βεβῶς, βεβῶτος, ἐστῶς, ἐστῶτος· . . . καὶ τὰ οὐδέτερα διὰ τοῦ ω μεγάλου, τὸ γεγῶς, τὸ μεμῶς, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.

Gustav Meyer in his *Griech. Gram.*² (1886) § 556 Anm. 1, says: "Ntr. *ἑστώς*, nicht *ἑστός*" and refers to Riemann. Stahl, *Quaest. gram. ad Thuc. pert.*² (1886), p. 64, says that the *ως* form "scribendum esse" and refers to Riemann. The Van Herwerden and the Classen-Steup ed. of Thucydides adopt it, referring to Riemann. Earle adopts it in his *Oed. Tyr.*, with a reference to Meyer. Koch's Grammar has sometime since 1881 changed from *ἑστός* to *ἑστώς*, as has Kaegi's sometime since 1884. Jannaris in his *Hist. Grk. Gram.* § 966, gives τὸ *ἑστός*.

The testimony of these ancient grammarians, ranging from the second to the tenth century, and all antedating any MS cited for *ἑστός*—except that *Ety. Mag.* is later than the Codex Clarkianus or B of Plato, of which the colophon is dated 896 A. D.—is not lightly to be set aside as it is so positive and unanimous for the *ως* form. This is also the form that would result regularly from the contraction of *ἑσταός*. Herodianus is the earliest authority for the *ως* form in the neuter. We shall see that the *ως* form was current in his own land in his own time and for a full century earlier. The question suggests itself whether Herodianus was a spelling reformer working on theoretical lines. The striking similarity, nay even identity, of language leads to a natural suspicion that Theognostus is drawing more or less directly from Herodianus. As Riemann suggests, probably the *Ety. Mag.* does the same. Choeroboscus admits the variant *ως*.

On the other hand the equally positive and unanimous testimony of the best MSS deserves serious consideration, and Schanz's conclusion (*Proleg. ad Plat. Theaet.*, p. 12 sq.)—"Nequaquam igitur verisimile est *ἑστός* ex librariorum libidine esse profectum" seems quite reasonable.

It is strangely provoking how narrowly the question has missed a positive solution. Neither in Sophocles nor in Aristophanes is the word so placed that the metre can give any aid. Among several hundred inscriptions examined by the writer one had ὁ ἐνεστώς ἐνιαυτός. If only that stone-cutter had used *ἔτος*! Nothing then has been positively established as to the classical form. Our new material does, however, give overwhelming proof of the currency of the form in *ως* for the first three centuries of our era and shows that at the very time the Alexandrian Herodianus was supporting the *ως* form, the other was in current use in his own land. In the Greek papyri found in

Egypt, the phrase τὸ ἐνεστὸς, with ἔτος expressed or understood, means "the current year." Cf. our "instant" in dates. The expression occurs scores of times, but more often in the gen. or dat. There are, however, sufficient instances of the acc. to establish the form. The papyri examined yield twenty-three instances of τὸ ἐνεστὸς, one of καθεστὸς and three in which the ultimate vowel of ἐνεστὸς may be restored with almost absolute certainty.

In the Amherst Papyri, Greek, Part II, we have τὸ ἐνεστὸς in

No. 71, l. 3, dated 178-9, A. D.

No. 73, l. 9, " 129-30

No. 93, l. 4, " 162-3

No. 94, l. 28, " 208.

In the Greek Papyri in the British Museum, II, we have τὸ ἐνεστὸς on

p. 73, No. 309, l. 12, dated 146, A. D.

p. 74, No. 327, l. 9, " 162

p. 75, No. 328, l. 16, " 163

p. 76, No. 368, l. 11, " 179

p. 184, No. 286, l. 10 f, " 88, ἐνεστ[ο]ς

p. 189, No. 438, l. 8, " 142

p. 189, No. 314, l. 5, " 149

p. 216, No. 151, l. 7, " 2d cent.

In the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, I.

No. 68, l. 31, has καθεστὸς, dated 131

No. 74, l. 18, " τὸ ἐνεστ(ός), " 116

No. 102, l. 7, " " ἐνεστὸς, " 306

No. 103, l. 6, " " " " 316

In the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, II.

No. 245, l. 6, has τὸ ἐνεστὸς, dated 26 A. D.

No. 257, l. 8, " τὸ ἐνε[στὸς], " 94-5

In the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, III.

No. 479, l. 14, has τὸ ἐνεστὸς, dated 157

No. 499, l. 5, " " " " 121

In the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, IV.

No. 730, l. 4, has τὸ ἐνεστὸς, dated 130

No. 732, l. 2, " " " " 150

In the Fayum Towns and their Papyri.

No. 28, l. 10, has τὸ ἐνεστὸς, dated 150-1

No. 33, l. 14, " " " " 163

No. 36, l. 6, " " " " 111-2

No. 91, l. 19, " " " " 99

No. 93, l. 12, " " " " 161

These, it will be seen, range in date from 26 to 316 A. D. Earlier papyri yielded only genitives and datives. These ran back well into the 2d cent. B. C. Those still earlier agree with the inscriptions and with Thucydidean usage (I. 98. 4; IV. 97. 3; VII. 67. 2; VIII. 66. 2 and 3) in preferring the longer first perfect forms, as does also our only *testimonium* on Thuc. III. 9, viz., Georgios Diaeretes ad Hermogenem (Walz: Rhet. Graec. VI. 513. 29).

No instance of τὸ ἐνεστώς was found in the papyri.

The evidence of the Biblical MSS also may well be cited in this connection.

In the LXX version of Ruth II. 6, Holmes and Parsons read τὸ ἐφεστός with all MSS cited except the Coislinianus (VII cent.), Basiliano-Vaticanus (IX cent.) and cursive 63, which have ἐφεστηκός. In II Maccabees, III. 17, these editors read τὸ ἐνεστώς ἄλλος with all MSS cited, except the two cursives 55 (ἐνεστηκός) and 44 (ἐστώς).

In the New Testament, Matt. XXIV. 15 has ἐστός in \aleph B¹. F. G. H. L. V. Δ . Π . 33 and εστωσ in B². D¹. E. K. M. S. U. Γ . 1. 69. In Rev. XIV. 1 ἐστός is the reading of \aleph A C B¹ and εστωσ only of a few minor MSS, mainly cursives, cited by Alford. Here again the "great four" \aleph A C and B¹ agree in favor of the $\overline{\sigma}$ form, and they antedate by some centuries any of the classical MSS cited.

Osthoff in his Geschichte des Perf. 368 ff. has shown that ἐστώς is for ἐστῶFως and Brugmann Gr. Gram³. p. 57 considers ἐστός "to follow the analogy of εἰδώς, εἰδός", which are for *FειδFως, *FειδFος (cf. the Sanskrit *vidvāṇs*, weak stem *viduṣ* and Avestan *vidvāh-*, weak stem *viduṣ*).

In the light of such evidence in favor of the $\overline{\sigma}$ form our textbook makers may well pause before joining the followers of Riemann in the adoption of the desinence in $\omega\sigma$.

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V.—INSCRIPTIONS IN ATHENS.

During a revisit to Athens last July I found several new inscriptions, some of which are published here. Others will be published later.

1. Part of a fluted column, found near the Philopappus Hill, 0.89 m. high, 0.63 m. to 0.70 m. in circumference. Diameter at the end with a square hole 0.21 m.; at other end 0.19 m. Letters of the inscription, which is cut lengthwise in two flutings, 0.025 m. high. Stone now in the possession of Mr. Nostrakis, Zacharitzas street, no. 30.

ΙΤΙΟϞΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝ
ΑΝΟϞ

The three-barred sigma dates the inscription before about 446 B. C. and the dotted theta after about 500 B. C. The forms of alpha and nu here used are more likely to occur in the first quarter of the fifth century B. C. than later.

2. Bronze mirror, handle cast in one piece with the disk, seen in the Minerva shop on Hermes street. The diameter of the disk, which has a fine bead pattern around the edge like that on the mirror published by Tarbell, *The Decennial Publications*, Chicago, VI, p. 3 f., pl. I, is 0.14 m. The handle, adorned with a palmette design at the top and with a rosette round the suspension hole at the bottom is 0.13 m. long and 0.025 m. wide. Diameter of round end of handle 0.045 m. The mirror resembles in shape and decoration one from the Argive Heraeum (cf. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum*, vol. II, pl. XCIV, 1565). The inscription is cut retrograde near the right edge of the well-polished side of the disk. Date, first quarter of fifth century B. C.

ΣΙΤΑΝΜΙΑ Διμνᾶτις

The mirror is said positively to come from Tegea and Pausanias VIII 53, 11 relates that on the way from Tegea to Laconia there was a *ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησιν Διμνάτιδος*. Here probably the mirror was dedicated. For Artemis Limnatis cf. also Paus. III 23, 10; IV 4, 2; IV 31, 3; VII 20, 7; Anth. Pal. VI 280; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, II, pp. 427, 558; Dittenberger,

Sylloge², 836; Roehl, I. G. A. 50 (where we have the same inscription on a cymbal), 61 and 73; Wilhelm, Athen. Mitth. XVI, 1891, pp. 350, 351. The epithet often breaks loose as here and forms a goddess of itself.

3. Marble slab, broken at bottom, found to the south of the Ilissus southwest of the hill with the windmill (cf. Judeich, Topographie von Athen, plan I, G 8, Windmühle). Now concealed in a house on the λεωφόρος Σύγγρον. Height 0.34 m.; width 0.40 m.; thickness 0.08 m. Letters small but well cut and clearly legible, 0.005 m. to 0.008 m. high. Date, first half of fourth century B. C., certainly not fifth century as Dörpfeld, who had not seen the stone, thought possible (cf. Athen. Mitth. XXXI, 1906, p. 149). *ov* represented by *o* in every case except l. 6 where we have *ρούς*.

This inscription has been published already from an imperfect copy with translation and epigraphical commentary by Holleaux, Athen. Mitth. XXXI, 1906, pp. 134-144. The technical construction of the tripod-bases, for which the most important dimensions are given, is discussed *ibid.*, pp. 145-150 by Dörpfeld. Considering the fact that Holleaux had seen neither the stone itself nor a squeeze, his publication is excellent, though of course not accurate in detail. Holleaux knew neither the dimensions of the stone nor the place of finding, which is of considerable importance in this case, since the inscription probably comes from the Cynosarges (cf. line 2). The tripods mentioned perhaps were set up in the sanctuary of Hercules in the Cynosarges (cf. Frazer, Pausanias, II, p. 193; Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 374). Since the stone was excavated somewhat to the south of the chapel of *Hagios Panteleïmon* on the south bank of the Ilissus, it seems to prove that the Cynosarges was not on the site of the Monastery τῶν Ἀσωμάτων at the southeastern foot of Lycabettus near the American School, where one of the streets to-day is called ὁδὸς Κυνοσάργους, and where most topographers following Leake and Curtius used to locate it (cf. Frazer, *ibid.*) and some as Gardner do still (cf. his *Ancient Athens*, p. 528). The view of Dyer and Miss Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 216, that the Cynosarges was near the stadium also now seems improbable¹. Dörpfeld placed the Cynosarges near *Hagios Panteleïmon* (wrongly called *H. Marina* by Dörpfeld himself in Athen. Mitth. XX, 1895, p. 507 and by Frazer, *op. cit.* V, p. 493).

¹ In her recent book, *Primitive Athens*, p. 142, fig. 49, Miss Harrison places the deme Diomeia, where the Cynosarges was located, to the south-west of the Olympieum, although p. 145, note 2, she says it is to the south-east.

Θεοί.

Συγγραφαί· ἀρχιτέκτων Ξενοφῶν Περιβοίδης·
ἐγ Κυνοσάργει τῷ τρίποδι ἐκάστω βῆμα ποι-
ῆσαι· ἀνακαθηράμενον τὸ χωρίον ὅπο ἂν ὁ ἀρχι-
τέκτων υπογράψει, στρωματίσαι λίθοις ἀγρυ-
5 λεικοῖς ἰσόγειων, τιθέντα τοὺς λίθος ἐπὶ τὸ
δίπον, καὶ ἐπικόψαι ὄρθον κατὰ κεφαλὴν πρὸς
τὸν διαβήτην· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ἀγρυλεῖν ὀρθοστάτη-
ν θεῖναι, ὕψος τρίποδα, πᾶχος καὶ πλάτος ἐπτά
10 παλαστῶν δακτύλου λειπόντων· ἐξεργάζεσθαι
δὲ τὸν ὀρθοστάτην, περιξέσάμενον τὰς ἄκρας
ὅσον ἐπὶ δύο δακτύλῳ πανταχέ, τὰ μέσα κατα[ρ-
[α]χίσαι λεπτεῖ, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ὀρθοστάτο ἐκάστο κα-

ταληπτήρα ἐπιθεῖναι, πᾶχος ἐπτά δακτύλων, π-
15 λάτος τριῶν ποδῶν καὶ ἐξ δακτύλων, ἐξεργασά-
μενον καὶ ἀποξέσαντα πανταχέ ὄρθον καὶ ὕγ-
ια· τιθέναι δὲ περὶ γόμφῳ σιδηρῷ· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κ-
αταληπτήρος τὸν τρίποδα καθαρμόσαι, ἐντε-
ράναντα τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ περιμολυβδοχοῆσαι, κ-
20 αὶ κύνιον ὑφαρμόσαι πεντελεικὸν ὑπὸ τὸν τ-
ρίποδα, δωρικὸν ἔχον τὸ ἐπίκρανον ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ὑπ-
οξέσαντα ὄρθον καὶ ξύσαντα λεῖον, καὶ τὸ ἐπί-
[κρανον] ἐγκαῦσαι· πέτραι δὲ χρῆσθαι εἰς τὸς ὀ-
[ρβοστάτας καὶ] τὸς καταληπτήρας ἀκτίτιδι ἢ
25 μεγαρικεῖ ἢ ἑλευσινιακ[εῖ], εἰ, εἰς δὲ μεγαρικεῖ
..... εἰς τὸς ὄρθο]στάτας καὶ τὸ-
ς καταληπτήρας]

Accordingly Cecil Smith conducted excavations in this region to the north-east of the hill marked to-day by a windmill and discovered the foundations of a large building of the sixth century B. C., which was taken to be a gymnasium (cf. Athen. Mitth. XXI, 1896, p. 463 f.; Annual of British School at Athens, III, pp. 89, 232 f.; Frazer, op. cit. V, p. 493 f.; Judeich, op. cit., p. 373). But no inscription was found to make this certain and one would expect from the literary references to discover the Cynosarges on the road to Phalerum rather than on the road to Sunium, where these excavations took place. The place of finding of this inscription confirms the view of Judeich who (l. c.) says, "Mit grösserer Wahrscheinlichkeit wird man deshalb das Kynosarges-Gymnasion am Südwestfuss derselben Hügelgruppe suchen, an deren Nordostabfall die Bauten ausgegraben sind". Such a situation fits the description in Ps.-Plato, Axiochus 364 b. And in Ps.-Plut. Vit. X Or. 838 b Isocrates is said to have been buried near Cynosarges on a hill to the left, which would be the hill with the windmill. Let us hope that excavations will soon be conducted in this region for the purpose of settling the exact spot of the Cynosarges.

L. 1. Above the inscription is the heading *Θεοί*, omitted by Holleaux, but often found at the beginning of architectural inscriptions (cf. Dittenberger, Sylloge², 537, 538, 539, 542; also I. G. II, 5, 1054 b and 1054 c).

The inscription itself is cut *stoichedon*, and every line has exactly 36 letters. Holleaux wrongly thought that lines 13, 16, 19, 23, and 24 were irregular, l. 13 containing 38 and ll. 16, 19, 23 37 letters, and l. 24 only 35 letters. Lattermann, Athen. Mitth. XXXI, 1906, p. 362 is also wrong.

L. 6. The first letter is A or Δ instead of Λ. Perhaps the letters were painted and the cross-bar, cut by mistake, was not painted so that the letter really looked like Λ. So in I. G. I. 5, p. 190, no. 528¹ we have AHΞ for ΛHΞ.

Ll. 6-7. *τιθέντα τοὺς λίθους ἐπὶ τὸ δίπνον*. Holleaux, l. c., p. 138, and Dörpfeld, l. c., p. 146, read *ἐπὶ τὸ ἀλπὸν* (?), taking it to be equivalent to *ἐπὶ τὸ στέρνον*, a meaning for which there is no parallel. Holleaux, because of the use of the accusative with *ἐπὶ* after *τιθέναι*, suggested the correction, which he himself calls "*désespérée*", *ἐπὶ το(ῦ) αἵπο(υ)[ς]*. Lattermann, l. c., p. 360, adopts a suggestion of Hiller von Gaertringen *ἐπὶ τὸ ἀργόν*. But there can be no doubt about any letter except the first, which seems to me after a careful

comparison of all occurrences of Δ and Α in this inscription to be Δ rather than Α. For the form δίπο(υ)ν instead of δίποδα, cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzler, Gramm. der att. Inschr. 149, 8.

In l. 9 we have the form τρίποδα, but this is more common even in the fourth century B. C. than τρίπο(υ)ν. There is no reason why in a period of transition we should not have δίπο(υ)ν and τρίποδα just as we have, l. 6, τοὺς, but elsewhere τὸς ἐπὶ τὸ δίπο(υ)ν would mean "to the distance of two feet", "to the depth of two feet" or "to the height of two feet" (cf. Dittenberger, Sylloge², 538, l. 15; 540, l. 107; 542, l. 20, θήσει δὲ τοὺς λίθους ὀρθοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ τριημιπόδια). The height of the foundations is to be two feet, a little more than Dörpfeld has adopted in his drawing, l. c., p. 144.

Ll. 12-13. ὅσον ἐπὶ δύο δακτύλῳ πανταχῇ τὰ μέσα κατα[ρ]αχίσαι λεπτεῖ etc. Holleaux read ὅσον ἐπὶ δύο δακτύλων πανταχῇ, τὰ [δὲ] μέσα κατασχί[σ]αι (?) As Lattermann, l. c., p. 360, pointed out, δύο does not occur as a genitive till Roman times (cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzler, op. cit., 157, 1 d). The ν of δακτύλων and the δὲ which Holleaux supplied to make 36 letters in l. 12 are not on the stone. Δὲ is not needed, because it would subordinate περιξεσάμενον to ἐξεργάζεσθαι which consists in polishing off a border all around (περιξέω) and then cutting down fine the middle portions. Holleaux's reading κατασχί[σ]αι is impossible, since it contains one too few letters, and the letter before χ is not ξ. Lattermann's conjecture of κατα(ξα)ί(ν)[ειν] (cf. l. c., p. 360) is also disproved by the stone itself. καταραχίσαι seems to be the correct reading, though I have been unable to find it used of cutting down stone. It generally has some reference to sacrifice. But clear traces of Ρ exist on the stone at the end of l. 12, and the first letter of l. 13 looks like Α. In I. G. II, 167, l. 82, we have ραχώσας used with reference to the long walls of Athens. For the lacuna left by Holleaux after καταραχίσαι Lattermann (l. c., p. 361) suggested ξοῖδι, the instrument which to be sure does occur along with τὰ δὲ μέσα in Dittenberger, Sylloge², 540. ll. 108, 121. The reading of the stone λεπτεῖ shows, however, that Holleaux was wrong when he said (l. c., p. 140) "Ces parties médianes doivent, selon l'usage, être, non point finement travaillées", and also Dörpfeld, when he said (l. c., p. 146) "die mittlere Fläche geraucht bleibt". After a margin of the breadth of two δάκτυλοι has been polished off all around on the ὀρθοστάτης, the middle portions (τὰ μέσα) are to be cut down fine and not left rough, as was often the case (cf. Sylloge², 540, notes 45, 47).

Ll. 16-17: $\dot{\iota}\gamma|\dot{\iota}\tilde{\alpha}$. Holleaux read $\dot{\iota}\gamma|\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$, making 37 instead of 36 letters in l. 16. But the acc. sing. would be $\dot{\iota}\gamma\dot{\iota}\tilde{\eta}$ as in Sylloge², 540, l. 32 or $\dot{\iota}\gamma\dot{\iota}\tilde{\alpha}$. The correct reading $\dot{\iota}\gamma\dot{\iota}\tilde{\alpha}$ which Lattermann had already suggested (l. c., p. 361) dates the inscription before 350 B. C. (cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzler, op. cit., p. 150, 11).

L. 17. Read $\pi\epsilon\rho\dot{\iota}$ γόμφωι instead of Holleaux's $\pi\epsilon\rho\dot{\iota}\gamma\acute{o}\mu\phi\omega$ as Dörpfeld (l. c., p. 147) suggests.

L. 19. There is no T at the beginning as Holleaux reads, which makes 36 instead of 37 letters in l. 19.

L. 20: $\kappa\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\mu\iota\omicron\nu$. Several small columns have been found in the region where this inscription was excavated, and perhaps come from the tripod-bases.

L. 21: $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}$, Holleaux wrongly read $\acute{\epsilon}\pi'\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}$.

L. 23: $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\alpha\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \chi\rho\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. Holleaux read $\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, which he himself (cf. l. c., Addendum to p. 135) says, "est bien faite pour surprendre dans une inscription attique du IV^e siècle". L. 23 has 36, not 37 letters.

L. 24. Holleaux thought l. 24 had only 35 letters, but he omitted the last letter η .

L. 25: $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\ \delta\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\rho\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\dot{\iota}$. Holleaux read only $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \mu[\eta]$. We hear of Megarian stone in I. G. IV, 823, ll. 7, 76.

L. 26 was not given by Holleaux.

4. Stone seen in the Bazaar of Athens. Exact provenience unknown. Height 0.59 m.; width 0.215 m. Inscription 0.26 m. high. Letters, coarse and irregular, from 0.01 m. to 0.015 m. high. The lower part, which was not inscribed, was set in the ground on the estate mortgaged. Date, first half of fourth century B. C.

	ΟΡΟΞΧΩΡΙΟ		ὄρος χωρίο
	ΠΕΡΑΜΕΝΟ		πεπραμένο
	ΕΡΙΑΥΞΕΙΚΗΦΙ		ἐπὶ λύσει Κηφι-
	ΞΟΔΩΡΙΩΙΛΕΥΚΟ		σοδώρῳ Δευκο(νοίῃ)
5	ΧΓΚΑΙΦΑΤΕΡ	5	ΧΓ ^Κ καὶ φράτερ-
	ΞΙΤΟΙΞΜΕΤΑΕΡΑ		σι τοῖς μετὰ Ἑρα-
	ΤΟΞΤΡΑΤΟΑΝΑ		τοστράτο Ἄνα-
	ΦΛΗΗΚΑΙΓΛΑ		φλ(υστίο) ΧΗΗ καὶ Γλα-
	ΥΚΙΔΑΙΞΓΗΚ		υκίδαις Γ ^Η κ[αί]
10	ΕΡΙΚΛΕΙΔΑΙΞ	10	Ἐπικλείδαις
	ΗΓΚΑΙΦΑΤΕΡ		ΗΓ ^Κ καὶ φράτερ
	ΞΙΤΟΙΞΜΕΤΑΝΙΚ		σι τοῖς μετὰ Νίκ
	ΩΝΟΞΑΝΑΦΛΗ		ωνος Ἀναφλ(υστίο) Η

This inscription belongs to the class of hypothecary or mortgage inscriptions (most of them dating from the latter half of the fourth century), in which the property is sold with a reservation of right to the vendor to repurchase (*ἐπὶ λύσει*).¹ I know of no other inscription of this kind which records as many as five mortgages. In ll. 4, 8, and 13 the deme-names are abbreviated as in I. G. II 1134, 1135, 1147; Sitzb. d. Akad. zu Berlin, 1897, p. 665, no. 2, l. 3; no. 4, ll. 5, 10 (this last mortgage stone published as if unknown by Tillyard in the Annual of the British School at Athens, XI, p. 71)². The president of the *φράτρες* who take the second mortgage for 1200 drachmae is Eratostratus of Anaphlystus who in all probability is to be identified with the Eratostratus of Anaphlystus who according to I. G. II 869 was *πρύτανης* about the middle of the fourth century B. C. (cf. Kirchner, Prosopographia Attica, s. v.). Nikon of Anaphlystus (ll. 12, 13) can not be the Nikon of Anaphlystus mentioned by Kirchner, op. cit., 11106, because that Nikon lived two hundred years later, but possibly they belong to the same stock. The names *Γλαυκίδαί* and *Ἐπικλείδαι* are new and are not to be found in Ziebarth, Das griechische Vereinswesen, or in Toepffer, Attische Genealogie, or in Oehler, Zum griechischen Vereinswesen. We should expect these to be the names of guilds or sacred clubs or phratries, or more probably of families, just as we hear of mortgages given to *ἐρανισταί* (cf. I. G. II 1110, 1119, 1147, 1148; II 5, 1139 b, 1140 b.; Sitzb. der Akad. zu Berlin, 1897, p. 668, nos. 14, 15), to *θιασῶται* (cf. I. G. II 1111; II 5, 1111), to *ὀργεῶνες* (cf. Michel, Recueil, 1375), to *Κεκροπίδαι* and *Λυκομίδαι* and *Φλυαίς* (cf. *ibid.* 1366; Dittenberger, Sylloge², 819), to the *δεκαδισταί* (cf. Dittenberger, Sylloge², 824; Michel, Recueil, 1374). *Γλαυκίδαί* and *Ἐπικλείδαι*, to be connected perhaps with the festival of Demeter celebrated at Athens, the *Ἐπικλείδια* (cf. Hesychius, s. v.), are more likely to be names of families than phratries, since the word *φράτρες* is used of two

¹ Cf. for similar inscriptions I. G. II 1103 f.; I. G. II 5, 1111 f.; Dittenberger, Sylloge², 818 f.; Michel, Recueil, 1364 f.; Roberts and Gardner, Inscriptions of Attica, pp. 494 f.; Ziebarth, Sitzungsberichte der Akad. zu Berlin, 1897, pp. 664 f.; 1898, pp. 782 f.; Dareste, Hassoullier et Reinach, Inscr. Juridiques Grecques, pp. 107 f.; Annual of British School at Athens, XI, pp. 63 f.; Hitzig, Das griechische Pfandrecht, p. 67 f. Cf. for *ἐπὶ λύσει* Wiener Studien, IX, 1887, p. 279 f.

² In lines 9 and 10 of Tillyard's publication should be read *κειμένας παρὰ Χαιρεδήμῳ Παμν(ουσίῳ)* instead of the genitive.

other parties who have mortgages but not with these names. Guilds and *φράτερες* often possessed property (cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², 571; *Sitzb. der Akad. zu Berlin*, 1898, p. 781, no. 24, *ἄρος οἰκίας φρατέρων*). But this is the first mortgage inscription, so far as I know, to mention *φράτερες*.

5. Marble slab with molding above and below. Found on north-east slope of Philopappus Hill. Length, 0.685 m. Width, 0.305 m. Width of middle part, where inscription is, 0.11 m. Letters 0.03 m. high. Date, end of second century or beginning of first century B. C.

ΔΩΡΟΣ' ΕΙΣΙΑΣΤΡΙΜΟΥ
ΙΕΥΣ ΕΚΠΙΡΑΙΕΩΝ

— δωρος — — — ιεύς

Εισιάς Πρίμου ἐκ Πιραιέων

Probably we should read *Εισιάς* and not *Είσιας*, since the woman's name is more common than the man's, cf. I. G. III 155; *Athen. Mitth.* XXI, 1896, p. 275 f.

6. Part of a *κιονίσκος* found near the Philopappus Hill, now in the possession of Nostrakis, cf. no. I. Height, 0.27 m.; diameter, 0.17 m.; circumference 0.55 m. Letters 0.03 m. high. Date, end of second century B. C.

ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΑ
ΘΕΩΝΟΣ
ΜΙΑΗΣΙΑ

'Αρισταγόρα

Θέωνος

Μιλησία

In l. 3 the third letter Α is a stone-cutter's mistake for Λ, cf. no. 3, l. 6. Pape wrongly gives in his *Griechische Eigennamen* the name 'Αρισταγόρα as that of a woman from Miletus mentioned in C. I. G. 2852, for we have there the genitive of 'Αρισταγόρας.

In the same house as no. 6 is another fragment of a *κιονίσκος*

Κ Ρ

0.26 m. high, with the letters, 0.015 m. high. Σ Α

Μ Α

7. In the yard of a house near the Ilissus south of the Olympieum fragment of another *κιονίσκος* with a late inscription. Diameter 0.37 m. Height 0.27 m. Letters 0.03 m. high.

ΦΡΕΓΑΝΙΟΣ ΕΠΑΦΡΑΣ

Φρεγάνιος 'Επαφράς

Beneath this inscription an earlier inscription of which the letters E and O^{ξ}Y remain on either side of a sculptured male head.

8. Slab with gable, found near Zappeion, now in Bazaar of Athens, 0.22 m. wide, 0.32 m. high. Letters 0.015 m. high.

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΑ	Ἡρακλέα
ΧΑΙΡΕ	χαῖρε

9. Stone, said to come from grave at Megara, 0.135 m. by 0.07 m. Thickness 0.04 m. Letters 0.02 m. Seen in Bazaar of Athens.

ΠΑΜΒΙΣ	Πάμβις
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10. Similar stone seen also in Bazaar, from Megara, 0.17 m. long, 0.14 m. high, 0.025 m. thick. Letters 0.03 m. high.

ΚΑΡΙΟΥ	Καρίου
ΒΙΓΛΑΝ	Βιγλαν-
ΤΙΟΥ	τίου (= Vigilantius).

11. Small slab with inscription of imperial date, 0.135 m. wide, 0.155 m. high, 0.025 m. thick. Letters 0.01 m. Now in shop on Aeolus street, no. 13. Found near Peiraeus, so probably comes from the Asclepieum of the Peiraeus.

ΑΘΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ	Ἀθηνόδωρος
ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΩΕΠΗ	Ἀσκληπιῶ ἐπη-
ΚΟΩΕΥΧΗΝΑ	κόω εὐχὴν ἀ-
ΝΕΘ	νέθηκε
ΗΚΕ	

In the space in l. 4 are sculptured the private parts of a youth. Cf. Sybel, Katalog der Skulpturen, 4058.

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VI.—TEMPORAL CLAUSES IN CICERO'S EPISTLES.

Both conditional and temporal clauses¹ are noticeably frequent in the epistles of Cicero. Practically identical in the future, in the past the *si* clause expresses an unrealized and unrealizable hypothesis, while the *cum* clause expresses actual occurrences, though their kinship is indicated by the use of *tum* in contrast with both *cum* and *si*. Though we shall discuss only the temporal clauses, a few words in regard to the conditional statements may not be amiss. With more than three thousand occurrences of *si*, *nisi*, *sin*, *etsi*, and kindred particles, the mere frequency of the construction gives evidence of the political uncertainties of the times, and that the politicians were

“— creatures

Moving about in worlds not realized,”

and that with puzzled minds and wills perplexed they kept before themselves the unrealities of the past and the uncertainties of the future.

The frequency of occurrence varies with the subject and the occasion. A simple historical narrative, e. g. ad Fam. 15, 2, has few conditional statements, though *cum* is much in evidence. The *si* clauses are of frequent occurrence, especially in the letters to Atticus, whether Cicero may be thinking of the past, e. g. A. 3, 20, 1 *me miserum! quam omnia essent ex sententia, si nobis animus, si consilium, si fides eorum, quibus credidimus, non defuisset*; or of the present, as in A. 4, 6, 2 *ego vero, qui, si loquor de republica, quod oportet, insanus, si, quod opus est, servus existimor, si taceo, oppressus et captus, quo dolore esse debeo?* A. 2, 23, 3 *si dormis, expergiscere, si stas, ingredi, si ingredieris, curre, si curris, advola*; or of the future, as in A. 3, 10, 1 *nam, si erit causa, si quid agetur, si spem videro, aut ibidem opperiar aut me ad te conferam*; *sin, ut tu scribis, ista evanuerint, aliquid aliud videbimus*; A. 13, 13, 4 *de Bruto, si quid egerit, de Caesare, si quid scies, si quid erit praeterea, scribes*. This repetition is characteristic of the correspondents of Cicero also,

¹ The text followed is that of C. F. W. Mueller.

as may be seen from the words of Caelius, A. 10, 9 A, 2 (F. 8, 16) *quare, si tibi tu, si filius unicus, si domus, si spes tuae reliquae tibi carae sunt, si aliquid apud te nos, si vir optimus, gener tuus, valemus . . . noli committere*; and of Brutus F. 11, 1, 3 *si melior casus fuerit, revertemur Romam; si mediocris, in exilio vivemus; si pessimus, ad novissima auxilia descendemus*. While these examples are extreme, they indicate something of the feverish unrest of the times, as do many of the future temporal statements. However, in the larger part such coloring is lacking, and the consideration must be largely of conventional forms of grammatical statements. Following divisions already well known we shall consider the temporal statements as they express: I. Antecedent, II. Contemporaneous, or III. Subsequent action; and IV. the *Cum* Constructions.

I. ANTECEDENT ACTION

Postquam and *ut* are the particles most frequently occurring, *ubi* and *simul ac* being comparatively rarely used.

Postquam.—So far as form is concerned *posteaquam* is used more freely than *postquam*, though the spelling seems to be a matter of indifference, as Caelius F. 8, 12, 1-2 has *posteaquam comperi . . . posteaquam . . . sensi*, and *postquam rescit*. The separation *post . . . quam* is due to an associated temporal term: A. 13, 30, 2 *XIII annis post praetor est factus Tuditanus quam consul Memmius*; A. 9, 10, 4 *post diem quartum quam ab urbe discessimus*; F. 1, 9, 9 *paucis post diebus quam Luca discesserat*; F. 16, 21, 1 *post diem quadagesimum et sextum quam a vobis discesserant*. *Quam* is separated from *postea* by *vero* A. 1, 16, 2; 4, 8, 2; 5, 21, 7; 15, 14, 2; 15, 20, 2; F. 3, 7, 5; 5, 2, 4; 6, 13, 1; 15, 1, 1: by *autem* A. 13, 12, 3; and F. 7, 3, 5 *postea autem quam valeret*. A wider separation was noticed F. 3, 8, 5 *nisi forte postea coeperunt legare, quam ego Taurum transgressus sum*; and in a letter from Luceius F. 5, 14, 1 *Romae quia postea non fuisti, quam discesseras*. In F. 13, 24, 1 Cicero has *tum vero* outside of *posteaquam*, t. v. p. . . *cognovi*; and Caelius does not observe the rule for separation in F. 8, 12, 1 *posteaquam vero comperi*.

Postquam is found chiefly with the perfect indicative, does not occur with the future tenses, but has maintained itself in a few instances with the imperfect and pluperfect indicative: A. 3, 19, 1 *posteaquam . . . videbatur*; F. 7, 5, 1 *posteaquam . . . erat*; F. 8, 8, 2

M. Servilius postquam . . . omnibus in rebus turbarat nec quicquam reliquerat maximaeque nobis traditus erat invidiae, neque Laterensis praetor . . . recipere voluit, Q. Pilius . . . postulavit; 5, 14, 1; 16, 11, 2 profecti erant, posteaquam senatus . . . negotium dederat; and following *dies*: F. 1, 9, 9; A. 9, 1, 1 haec autem scribebam pridie Nonas XIII die postquam ille Canusio moverat; A. 12, 1, 1 undecimo die postquam a te discesseram; F. 16, 21, 1. The present occurs less frequently: A. 2, 11, 1 plane relegatus mihi videor, posteaquam in Formiano sum; 13, 11, 1 totum est aliud posteaquam sum a te diiunctior; Q. 3, 1, 1 quod mihi nunc denique apparuit, posteaquam et ipsa tota patet.

The infrequency of the subjunctive with *postquam* evidences the triumph of *cum* with the subjunctive, as virtual indirect statements were put immediately into the subjunctive with *cum*, thus obviating the assumption that the statements had ever been made directly with *postquam*. The present subjunctive is not used at all with *postquam*, owing to its practical non-occurrence with corresponding direct tenses of the indicative. All the other tenses of the subjunctive are occasionally found, the perfect being used most freely: A. 1, 13, 4 scripsisti, posteaquam non auderet reprehendere, laudare coepisse; F. 4, 3, 4 me, posteaquam illi arti . . . nihil loci esse . . . viderem, omnem meam curam . . . contulisse; F. 7, 3, 5 ut primum scires . . . posteaquam quam . . . valeret unus . . . me voluisse pacem . . . postquam non potuerim . . . mihi ipsi finem fecisse belli. Other perfects are found: A. 13, 28, 3 tu non vides . . . posteaquam rex appellatus sit . . . immoderatum fuisse; A. 10, 9 A, 1 (F. 8, 16, 1 Caelius) sed postquam Caesarem convenerim sententiamque eius . . . cognorim, te certiore fecisse; F. 4, 4, 3 nam sic fac existimes, post has miseras, id est postquam armis disceptari coeptum sit de iure publico, nihil esse actum aliud cum dignitate; F. 9, 1, 2 scito enim me, posteaquam in urbem venerim, redisse. The pluperfect is also found A. 6, 3, 1 etsi nihil sane habebam novi, quod post accidisset quam dedissem ad te . . . litteras.

Similar to these, but with a definite limitation of the time, are a few instances with *postridie*: A. 2, 1, 3; F. 14, 7, 1; F. 16, 14, 1; Q. 2, 7, 2 sed tamen postridie, quam tu es profectus . . . veni, these occurrences being with the perfect indicative; and with the pluperfect A. 9, 5, 1 eam mihi Philotimus p. q. a te acceperat, reddidit.

Ubi.—*Ubi* is not at all freely used in the epistles as a temporal

particle, the most noticeable occurrence being F. 7, 3, 3 nihil tolerabilis exilio . . . ubi nulla adiunctast turpitudine, addo autem etiam, cum ea urbe careas in qua nihil sit quod videre possis sine dolore, where *ubi* with the indicative is parallel to *cum* with the subjunctive, both equally expressing the condition under which the main clause is true. The perfect is also found F. 9, 20, 3 ubi salutatio defluxit, litteris me involvo, which is equivalent to F. 7, 28, 2 cum enim salutationi nos dedimus amicorum . . . abdo me in bibliothecam. Other occurrences are A. 4, 8, 4 ubi nihil erit, quod scribas, id ipsum scribito; F. 8, 14, 3 homines . . . debeant, quam diu civiliter sine armis certetur, honestiorem sequi partem, ubi ad bellum et castra ventum sit, firmiorem; A. 8, 16, 2 quod ubi audissem, si ille Appia veniret, ego Arpinum cogitabam.

Ut.—*Ut* in direct statements is used with the perfect indicative with but few exceptions. The imperfect is found in the comparative temporal statement A. 1, 16, 4 ut quaeque res . . . referebatur . . . incredibilis erat severitas; and also A. 3, 15, 5 quam si, ut est promulgata, laudare voluissemus aut, ut erat negligenda, negligere, nocere omnino nobis non potuisset. There are two occurrences of the pluperfect: A. 2, 12, 4 litteras scripsi . . . statim ut tuas legeram; and A. 5, 10, 1 ut Athenas veneram . . . expectabam. The future perfect is also used A. 10, 4, 12 simul ut videro, and Q. 2, 5, 3 simul ut venerit . . . ne omiseris. *Ut primum* is comparatively freely used, and the immediateness of the action is also indicated by *statim ut*: A. 2, 12, 4; 5, 12, 2; and 9, 9, 4 de Lanuvino, statim ut audiivi Phameam mortuum, optavi; and with the future perfect Q. 2, 5, 3. The perfect subjunctive in *oratio obliqua* occurs A. 11, 16, 2; F. 3, 9 1 (twice); 5, 2, 3; 7, 32, 1; 11, 27, 4; and 13, 29, 1 intellexi, ut primum per aetatem iudicium facere potueris, quanti quisque tibi faciendus esset. The pluperfect is found A. 7, 17, 3 intellexi . . . ut primum . . . Caesar audisset, laborare eum coepisse.

Simul Ac.—*Simul ac*, *simul et* and *simul* are used to indicate the immediately successive relationship of one action to another, and in several passages, owing to variations in texts, it is impossible to determine which one of the three forms was used by Cicero. The regular construction is a perfect tense, — perfect or future perfect, — and for this reason the reading A. 10, 16, 4 looks suspicious: cogitavi eadem illa Caeliana, quae legi in epistula tua, quam accepi, simul et in Cumanum veni eodem die, et simul fieri poterat, ut temptaremur. *Simul* is equal¹ to *simul ac* A. 8, 11, 7

simul aliquid audiero, scribam ad te; in the equivalent statement A. 2, 20, 2 simul aliquid erit certi, scribam ad te; and A. 9, 7 A, 1 ut, simul Romam venerit, agat. *Simul et* occurs A. 16, 11, 6 simul et constituero, scribam; cf. A. 10, 16, 4; and there is an ellipsis A. 13, 21, 2 quod simul ac, continuo scietis. *Simul ut* is used as is *statim ut* A. 9, 9, 1 simul ut rus decurro; and A. 10, 4, 12 quod scribam, simul ut videro. There are also a few occurrences in indirect statements: A. 14, 22, 1 inrita fore... simul ac desisteremus timere; F. 15, 16, 2 ut, simul ac conlubitum sit de te cogitare, illud occurrat; A. 15, 12, 1 statim ait se iturum, simul ac... tradidisset; F. 16, 11, 3 simul atque expedisset... dixit se relaturum; A. 3, 18, 1 simul... remissae essent... daturum.

Quotiens is used with *totiens* as a correlative A. 1, 14, 3 quotiens coniugem, q. domum, q. patriam videret, totiens se beneficium meum videre; and also indirect, F. 7, 7, 1 illud soleo mirari, non me totiens accipere tuas litteras, quotiens a Quinto mihi fratre adferantur. The present indicative with *quotiens* is found A. 7, 26, 1 in a quotation, non venit idem usu mihi, quod tu tibi scribis, 'quotiens exorior'; and with *quotienscumque* F. 6, 5, 1; and 13, 41, 1 q. me videt (videt autem saepe) gratias tibi agit singularis. The future occurs with this form F. 16, 11, 3 cura, ut... mittas, q. habebis, cui des. The particle is slightly different in A. 11, 13, 5 velim, ut soles, facias, quotiensque habebis, quoi des ad me litteras, nolim praetermittas. The perfect is found with *quotiens* Q. I. 1, 7, 21 q. quisque voluit; and with *quotienscumque* F. 5, 6, 1 fuit; F. 13, 69, 1 fui; F. 5, 2, 9 q. aliquid est actum, sedens iis adsensi.

II. CONTEMPORANEOUS ACTION.

A. Contemporaneous in Extent.

Dum.—Of the particles expressing contemporaneous action *dum* is most freely used, and when it means 'while' or 'as long as', in direct statements, takes all the tenses of the indicative excepting the pluperfect and future perfect. The present occurs most frequently and expresses an action parallel to some other, e. g. A. 10, 16, 5 sed, dum redeo, Hortensius venerat; 16, 12, 1 dum tu muginaris, nec mihi quicquam rescribis, cepi consilium; F. 3, 5, 4 perpauco dies, dum pecunia accipitur... commorabor; with an imperative is not unusual: A. 5, 11, 1 dum ades... provide; 10, 10, 3 medere, amabo, dum est ἀρχή; Q. 2, 14, 2 attende

nunc . . . ad ea dum rescribo; and with other presents, as in A. 10, 15, 4 dum . . . parantur, excurro; A. 12, 18, 1 dum fugio . . . refugio; A. 9, 10, 3 ut aegroto, dum anima est, spes esse dicitur; A. 2, 14, 2 si qui nunc, dum hi apud me sunt, emere . . . velit. The perfect is used a few times in connection with a perfect, while the imperfect occurs with all the past tenses of the indicative: A. 12, 18, 1 dum illud tractabam . . . quasi fovebam dolores meos; 13, 42, 1 dum dubitabam . . . faciebam; 7, 26, 3 dum existimabam . . . nolui; 12 40, 2 dum levabat . . . exclusus; 6, 6, 3 dum videbantur, statueram fratrem relinquere. The future is not uncommon: A. 5, 6, 2 non desinam, dum adesse te putabo; A. 6, 1, 24 tu velim, dum ero Laodiceae . . . conloquare; 7, 17, 4; 11, 25, 1; B. 1, 5, 4; and functionally B. 1, 16, 6 neque possum, dum . . . odero; F. 5, 2, 4 ut, dum exstabit . . . non possit; 6, 3, 4 (twice); 8, 7, 1; 10, 11, 1 gratias agam, dum vivam. The few occurrences with the subjunctive are in *oratio obliqua*: A. 9, 7, 5 egregie probo fore ut, dum agamus ὁ πλόος ὥρσιος obrepat; F. 9, 9, 3 reliquum est, ubi nunc est res p., ibi simus potius quam, dum illam veterem sequamur, simus in nulla; A. 8, 12 A, 2 neque Canusium sine praesidio, dum abessem, putavi esse dimittendum.

Quoad.—*Quoad* is used as is *dum*, but more freely with the future and less so with the present. The few occurrences of the latter are found in connection with futures: A. 3, 10, 1 quoad me vos sperare vultis, vobis obtemperabo; 12, 29, 2 quoad possunt, adducito; or with the present: A. 12, 15, 1 cui repugno, quoad possum; A. 4, 16, 3 cum Socrates venisset . . . quoad primus ille sermo habetur, adest . . . senex. The perfect with *quoad* occurs a few times in connection with a perfect: A. 9, 10, 3; B. 1, 4, 2; F. 10, 24, 5 quoad ego nosse potui . . . fuit; A. 7, 2, 6 nunc illum, qui pedem porta, q. hostis cis Euphratem fuit, non extulerit; F. 7, 17, 2 itaque, q. opinatus sum . . . quae ad te ultro detulerim, meminisse te credo; or with an equivalent: F. 6, 6, 6 manente me, q. potui; and once with the imperfect: A. 6, 1, 3 q. mecum rex fuit, perbono loco res erat. The imperfect with *quoad* is found A. 3, 19, 1 q. eius modi mihi litterae a vobis adferebantur . . . retentus sum. The subjunctive is occasionally found in indirect statements, as in Q. 1, 3, 10 velim . . . sis fortis, q. rei natura patiat; F. 6, 21, 1 sim conscius me, q. licuerit . . . consuluisse; A. 13, 7 A, 1 iussi equidem ei nuntiari te, q. potuisses, exspectasse eius adventum.

Quam diu.—*Quam diu* is used as a correlative with *tam diu* A. 9, 4, 1 tam diu requiesco, quam diu aut ad te scribo aut tuas

litteras lego; F. 12, 19, 2 tam diu tenuit, quam diu in provincia Parthi fuerunt. *Quam diu* alone is found with the present, future and perfect: A. 11, 10, 2 quid est, ubi acquiescam, nisi quam diu tuas litteras lego? Cf. F. 9, 12, 1 tam diu dum tu ades; F. 9, 15, 5 quam diu hic erit . . . parebo; F. 14, 3, 2 quam diu vos eritis in spe, non deficiam; A. 1, 16, 1 quam diu . . . defendenda fuit . . . proeliatus sum; A. 6, 5, 1; F. 13, 50, 1; F. 14, 1, 3 iam abiit pestilentia, sed quam diu fuit, me non attigit; A. 16, 5, 2 quam diu fuit; Q. I. 1, 7, 21 quotiens quisque voluit, dixit, et quam voluit diu. The subjunctive occurs F. 8, 14, 3 debeant, quam diu . . . certetur, honestiorem sequi partem.

B. Contemporaneous in Limit.

Dum.—*Dum*, 'the while', with prospective verbs readily becomes 'until', as the termination rather than the continuance is emphasized. While the merely parallel action is expressed by the indicative, the prospective generally has the subjunctive, and occurs most frequently with *expectare*, e. g. A. 5, 19, 1 non dubito quin tu Pompeium expectaris, dum Arimino rediret; A. 8, 11 D, 1 non expectavi dum mihi a te litterae redderentur. However, the subjunctive is not always used in such statements: A. 10, 9 A, 3 (Caelius) saltem, dum . . . scitur, expecta; A. 10, 3, 1 ego in Arcano opperor, dum ista cognosco; F. 12, 12, 2 paullulum morae, dum promissa militibus persolvo; A. 12, 25, 1 usuram Silio pendemus . . . dum a Faberio repraesentabimus; F. 12, 19, 3 mihi quidem curae erit, quid agas, dum, quid egeris, sciero. The general distinction between the two classes can be seen from F. 9, 2, 4 latendum tantisper ibidem, dum effervescit haec gratulatio, et simul dum audiamus, quem ad modum negotium confectum sit.

The verbs used in connection with the present subjunctive are as follows: *discedere*, A. 3, 8, 3 quod suades, ne longius discedamus, dum acta . . . perferantur; *expectare* A. 1, 1, 1; 7, 1, 4; B. 1, 6, 1; 2, 3, 4; F. 5, 10 a, 3; 5, 12, 2; *latere*, F. 9, 2, 4; *morari*, F. 11, 23, 2; 11, 24, 2; *movere*, F. 12, 19, 2 opto ne se illa gens moveat, dum . . . legiones perducantur, quas audio duci; *praestare*, F. 10, 11, 2 idque me praestaturum spero, dum istinc copiae traiciantur; *sustinere*, A. 12, 51, 3; *sustentare*, F. 13, 64, 1; *tenere*, F. 6, 18, 5 teneor tamen, dum . . . exigam primam pensionem. The imperfect subjunctive occurs with *differre* A. 4, 17, 3; *expectare* A. 5, 19, 1; 8, 11 D, 1; 15, 27, 1; B. 1, 18, 6; F. 10, 18, 2; *esse*

quietior A. 7, 17, 2; *subsistere* A. 5, 16, 1; *temperare* F. 10, 7, 2 usque mihi temperavit, dum perducerem eo rem ut . . . efficerem. The imperfect in *oratio obliqua* is fairly frequent: F. 12, 14, 4 ut, dum ipsi venirent, darent operam; F. 12, 15, 5 demorati esse dum . . . certior fieret; A. 8, 11 D, 2 ut consisterem, dum . . . referretur; 10, 2, 1; 10, 16, 4 ut ibi esse, dum . . . pararentur; 16, 7, 2 ut, dum minus periculi videretur, abessem.

Quoad.—*Quoad* with the subjunctive is used much less freely in direct statements than is *dum*: A. 13, 21 a, 1 ea vero continebis, quoad ipse te videam; F. 10, 21, 6 dabo operam, quoad exercitus hoc summittatis; A. 6, 1, 14 erit ad sustentandum, quoad Pompeius veniat; F. 12, 12, 3 quod nisi misissent, clausam Apameam tenuisset, quoad vi esset expugnata. Other occurrences are in indirect statements: F. 4, 3, 3 adhibitam esse, quoad certior . . . fieres; A. 4, 18, 1 humaniter meaeque dignitatis, quoad mihi satis factum esset, habendam sibi rationem putabat. A. 7, 18, 1 eas ego, quoad sciremus, utrum turpi pace nobis an misero bello esset utendum, in Formiano esse volui et una Cicerones. There is no clear line of demarcation between the indicative and the subjunctive in expressing the limiting action, and at the same time the durative element is not always distinguishable from its terminating point, as we find in F. 12, 14, 4 ut, dum ipsi venirent, darent negotium . . . ut . . . dent negotium, ut Asiam optineam, dum ipsorum alter uter venit. Here, however, the use of the mood may be due to the position of the *dum* clause relative to *ut* and its verb.

Dum Provisional.—*Dum* proviso clauses in which 'the while' involves a conditional sense, are somewhat freely used, the *dum* occurring alone or in connection with another particle. At times the verb is not expressed: A. 10, 15, 3 quivis licet, dum modo aliquis; 12, 44, 4 dum modo ne his verbis; 13, 7, 1 rescribes igitur, quicquid voles, dum modo *aliquid*; A. 6, 1, 4 sumeret dum ne negotiatori; and sometimes *dum* is used with adjectives: A. 15, 6, 3 (Hirtius) acerrimis consiliis plus quam etiam inertissimis dum modo diligentibus; F. 7, 9, 2 serius potius ad nos, dum plenior. Occurrences with verbs are: F. 10, 23, 1 (Plancus) numquam . . . me paenitebit maxima pericula pro patria subire, dum . . . apsim; A. 7, 23, 3 quod patior facile, dum ut adhuc nihil faciam turpiter; A. 11, 19, 2 satis est, dum ut caveam; A. 8, 11 B, 3 dum ne tibi videar, non laboro; B. 1, 17, 2 dum ne irato serviat, rem ipsam non deprecatur; F. 11, 10, 1 (Brutus)

interpellent me, quo minus honoratus sim, dum ne interpellent, quo minus res p. a me commode administrari possit; F. 9, 1, 2 dum modo simul simus, perficiam; Q. I. 1, 7, 20 sit . . . severitas, dum modo ea ne varietur gratia; 2, 5, 3 dum modo idonea tempestas sit, ne omiseris; A. 7, 7, 5 numquam, dum modo otiosi essent, recusarunt; 16, 7, 2 adprobator certe fuisti dum modo Kal. Ian. Romae essem; F. 16, 21, 6 omnia postposui, dum modo praeceptis patris parerem; F. 10, 25, 2 veniendum censeo ne . . . festinatio aliquid imminuat eius gloriae; F. 7, 1, 3 quodsi . . . operam dedisti . . . dum modo is tibi quidvis potius quam orationes meas legerit.

III. SUBSEQUENT ACTION.

Antequam, Priusquam.—*Antequam* occurs more frequently than *priusquam*, though the latter seems to be used more freely by Cicero's correspondents, and it also has a relatively larger number of instances in which the parts are separated. Not used with either the imperfect or the pluperfect indicative, both occur with the future: A. 13, 48, 1 is igitur si accierit, accurram; si minus, *non* antequam necesse erit; F. 6, 18, 5 quare, ut arbitror, prius hic te nos quam istic tu nos videbis. The present is used more freely. It is found in Cicero's description of Pompey, A. 8, 7, 2 ante fugit, quam scit, but generally the present is used in anticipation of the future: A. 10, 15, 4 si quemquam nactus eris, qui perferat, litteras des, antequam discedimus; 12, 37, 2; 14, 22, 1; 16, 5, 3 etenim circumspice, sed antequam erubesco; F. 7, 14, 1 dabo operam, ut istuc veniam, antequam ex animo effluo; A. 16, 2, 6 si ante eo veneris, quam mihi in Italiam . . . veniendum est; F. 11, 27, 1 de qua priusquam respondeo, pauca proponam. The future perfect is used in negative statements, excepting in the implied negative statement A. 8, 3, 5 qui autem locus erit nobis tutus . . . antequam ad illum venerimus? Other occurrences are: A. 5, 14, 1; 7, 5, 5; 14, 19, 6; F. 16, 14, 1; 16, 23, 2 non a. te videro; A. 16, 15, 6; F. 10, 20, 2 liberati sumus nec tamen erimus prius, quam ita esse tu nos feceris certiores; F. 8, 10, 1 (Caelius) nec prius desinam formidare, quam tetigisse te Italiam audiero. The perfect is more freely used with *priusquam*, and with a negative excepting F. 7, 23, 4 pr. tuas legi . . . litteras, quaesivi de mea Tullia: F. 4, 5, 3 non, pr. datum est, ademptum sit? 11, 13, 2 constitit nusquam, pr. ad Vada venit; 4, 11, 1 non prius . . . potuit, q. effectum est: A. 8, 11 D, 7 non

prius sum suspicatus q. denuntiata sunt; B. 1, 2, 2 non prius . . . movisti, q. . . . audisti. With *antequam* there is only a small number of occurrences with negatives: A. 12, 35, 1 *antequam* discessi, numquam mihi venit in mentem; and in a letter from Plancus, F. 10, 4, 1 *nec multo ante redisse scii, quam ex epistula tua cognovi*.

The subjunctives are for the most part in indirect statements, though there is occasionally one not influenced by other constructions: F. 15, 21, 2 *quin etiam, antequam ad me veniatur, risus omnis consumitur*; F. 10, 18, 3 *si quid subest, quod prius nocere potest, quam sciri curarique possit*; A. 11, 11, 2 *priusquam id scirem, nihil sum ausus sumere*; A. 14, 20, 2 *inde ante discessit, quam illum venisse audissem*.

Besides the instances in which *antequam* and *priusquam* are used with verbs there are a few occurrences in contrasted statements: A. 2, 20, 2 *addit etiam se prius occisum iri ab eo quam me violatum iri*; A. 6, 9, 4 *quos puto ante venturos quam nostrum Saufeium*; 15, 17, 1 *permolestes tuli quemquam prius audisse quam me*; F. 1, 2, 2 *intendere coepit ante se oportere discessionem facere quam consules*; F. 9, 21, 1 *cum vero etiam vincas, me prius inrideas quam te oportet*; A. 7, 21, 1 *de malis nostris tu prius audis quam ego*; A. 13, 21 a, 1 *quoiquam ante quam Bruto*. A few other occurrences are of the same general character.

Pridie quam limiting the time definitely to a given point is found in a few passages with past tenses of the indicative; with the perfect: F. 1, 2, 4 *de his rebus pridie, quam haec scripsi, senatus auctoritas gravissima intercessit*; A. 3, 8, 2; 5, 11, 6; 7, 15, 2 *Capuam cum venissem a. d. VI Kal. pridie quam has litteras dedi, consules conveni*; with the imperfect: A. 4, 15, 8 *haec ego pridie scribebam, quam comitia fore putabantur*; A. 15, 29, 3 *aiebant . . . pridie quam hoc scribebam . . . vidisse*; and with the pluperfect: A. 12, 18 a, 1 *sed erant pridie fortasse scriptae quam datae*.

IV. CUM.

The influences affecting the use of mood and tense with *cum* in stating past actions had fixed the type of statement by the time of Cicero, though the colloquial tingeing of many of the letters sometimes gave occasion for the retention of the indicative. Besides this, the prospective character of much that Cicero had to write allowed the use of the future tenses with *cum*, a form of

statement which had not been affected by the shift from indicative to the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive, and these two tenses of the indicative are not entirely avoided.

A. Indicative.

1. *Imperfect*.—The imperfect indicative is usually found in connection with an imperfect, the two parts of the statement being balanced, e. g. A. 2, 7, 4 iam pridem gubernare me taedebat, etiam cum licebat; F. 1, 1, 1 per quos, cum tu aderas, agebatur. The associated tense is the pluperfect A. 8, 11 D, 5 quod quidem tibi ostenderam, cum a me Capuam reiciebam; F. 12, 6, 1 res, cum haec scribebam, erat in extremum adducta discrimen; and Q. 1, 3, 8 versus, qui in te conlatus erat, cum aedilitatem petebas. Other exceptions to this collocation of imperfects are: F. 6, 21, 2 quas pertulimus tum, cum timidi putabamur; 9, 20, 1 coiecimus . . . ad illam tuam lautitiam, veterem dico, cum in sumptum habebas; 11, 8, 1 eo tempore Polla tua misit, cum, quid scriberem, non habebam. In other passages the indirectness of statement obscures the modal connection: F. 4, 14, 2 cum recordor haec me tum vidisse, cum . . . pertimescebam; F. 6, 4, 4 consolatio est vidisse me plus quam ceteros, cum cupiebam; 8, 5, 2 quo maturius constitueres, cum hunc eventum providebam, visum est, ut te facerem certiozem. With ellipsis: F. 7, 24, 1 olim cum regnare existimabamur, non tam ab ullis quam hoc tempore opservor a . . . omnibus; and also with *memini*: F. 7, 28, 1 memini cum mihi desipere videbare, quod cum istis potius viveres quam nobiscum.

2. *Pluperfect*.—There are but few occurrences of the pluperfect: A. 3, 18, 1 expectationem . . . attuleras, cum scripseras; 11, 24, 2 vide . . . quod tum factum cum illa quaerere coeperat; 13, 12, 3 biennium praeteriit, cum ille . . . cubitum nullum processerat; F. 3, 7, 5 cum ea consecutus nondum eram . . . tamen ista vestra nomina numquam sum admiratus; F. 8, 9, 2 (Caelius) has litteras a. d. IIII Non. Septembris dedi, cum ad eam diem ne profligatum quidem quicquam erat.

3. *Perfect*.—When the perfect indicative is used with *cum*, two-thirds of the examples follow the principal verb. *Cum primum* regularly precedes, but the *cum* clause follows when the principal verb is in the pluperfect, either alone (A. 10, 16, 1; 13, 9, 1; 13, 19, 1; 13, 30, 1; F. 7, 23, 1), or with *iam* (A. 5, 19, 1), *nondum* (A. 13, 35, 1; F. 2, 6, 1; 18, 6, 5), *vix* (F. 8, 12, 3), *vixdum* (A. 9, 2 a, 3), and *hora* (F. 9, 26, 1); with the imperfect,

excepting F. 8, 13, 2: Q. Hortensius, cum has litteras dedi, animam agebat; in two-thirds of the statements with *tum*, but not in the indirect statements: F. 7, 30, 1; 8, 17, 1; 16, 24, 2; and perhaps A. 3, 16, 1 quae cum * * * lectae sunt, tum id . . . infirmant. In a few of the remaining instances the principal verb is in the present: F. 6, 7, 4 cum vero ad ipsius Caesaris nomen veni, contremesco; F. 7, 15, 2 quom . . . venisti, non dici potest; F. 7, 28, 2; 9, 26, 1; 11, 16, 2 hoc cum populus Romanus meminit, me ipsum non meminisse, turpissimum est; 13, 24, 2; 13, 28, 1 gratias ago, cum fecisti. In a majority of the remaining occurrences the perfect is used in both parts, and the position of the *cum* clause is determined by general rhetorical considerations, or by greatest compactness of statement. The *cum* clause may be placed between two others having the same relation to it: A. 13, 49, 2 Gallo autem narravi, cum proxime Romae fui, quid audissem, neque nominavi Balbum minorem; F. 9, 16, 3 omnia incerta sunt, cum a iure discessum est, nec praestari quicquam potest. Some relative or demonstrative word may account for the position of the *cum* clause: A. 7, 3, 5 quem cum ornavit Cato, declaravit; F. 13, 75, 1 de quo et praesens tecum egi diligenter, cum tu . . . respondisti; A. 6, 1, 25 ibi sua deposuit, cum ad me profectus est; 7, 1, 5 hanc effugi, cum est actum; A. 1, 16, 4 quae mihi res multo honorificentior visa est quam aut illa, cum . . . prohibuerunt, aut cum . . . noluerunt. Also in the enumeration of particulars the explanatory clause follows: A. 2, 1, 3 orationes . . . una . . . altera . . . tertia . . . quarta . . . quinta . . . sexta, cum . . . deposui, septima, quom Catilinam emisi, octava . . . postridie quam Catilina profugit, nona in contione, quo die Allobroges indicarunt, decima in senatu Nonis Decembribus; F. 15, 21, 2 nam, ut illa omittam, quae civitate teste fecisti, cum mecum inimicitias communicavisti, cum me contionibus tuis defendisti, cum quaestor . . . partes suscepisti, cum tribuno plebis quaestor non paruisti. Lapses of time are indicated by the perfect with *cum*: A. 9, 11 A, 2 aliquot enim sunt anni, cum vos duo delegi; F. 15, 14, 1; 15, 16, 3 quare, si iam biennium aut triennium est, cum virtuti nuntium remisisti.

Both the future tenses are freely used with *cum*, as with *si*, and both are indicative of the eager questioning of Cicero and his friends in regard to the future course of political events.

Explicative *cum* is occasionally found in the statement of identical propositions: A. 3, 23, 2 cum lex abrogatur, illud ipsum

abrogatur, quo modo eam abrogari oporteat; A. 10, 16, 1 hoc cum tibi opto, opto ut beatus sis; A. 14, 6, 2 quod cum dico, de toto genere dico; F. 9, 15, 2 cum video . . . videre videor; Q. 1, 3, 3 cum enim te desidero, fratrem solum desidero? A. 7, 7, 6 cum id datum est, illud una datum est; A. 14, 10, 2 cum scripsi . . . scripsi. Repeated action is indicated by the perfect, with *solere* in the main clause: A. 8, 5, 1 etsi, solet eum, cum aliquid furiose fecit, paenitere; A. 13, 21 a, 1 quod diligentissime facere soles, cum a me dictum est; A. 16, 6, 4 ex eo eligere soleo, cum aliquod σύγγραμμα institui; without *solere* as in A. 7, 13, 3 de Tullia autem et Terentia, cum mihi barbarorum adventus proponitur, omnia timeo; cum autem Dolabellae venit in mentem, paulum respiro; and also by the present: A. 14, 11, 1 quom contionem lego 'de tanto viro, de clarissimo civi' ferre non queo. *Cum* with the indicative also expresses cause, as in A. 14, 17 A, 3 'O mi Cicero', inquit, 'gratulor tibi, cum tantum vales apud Dolabellam'.

B. Subjunctive.

On the face of the returns the subjunctives are in a large majority—1193 to 457—but if allowances are made for those in indirect statements and those due to other subjunctive constructions the number would be somewhat reduced. The causal force is predominant in many examples, and occasionally the concessive force is indicated by the use of *tamen*, as in A. 1, 4, 2 cui cum aequi fuisset, tamen . . . cepissemus; A. 9, 10, 8 cum breviter scriberes, tamen ponis hoc; A. 2, 20, 3 ut, cum omnes ea . . . improbant . . . tamen medicina nulla adferatur. *Praesertim* is comparatively freely used with the present and the perfect, and there is an occasional instance of another particle, but taken as a whole the particle reinforcements are meager; *maxime*: A. 2, 15, 3 cum haec m. scriberem, ecce tibi Sebosus; B. 2, 2, 3 cum m. ageretur litterae . . . redditae sunt; F. 1, 5a, 2; 5, 15, 2 ut, cum m. florere nos oporteret, tum vivere etiam puderet; *quippe*: A. 7, 13, 3 tu videbis, q. cum . . . velim; A. 10, 3 a, 1 nec reprehendo q. cum . . . non fugerim; *utpote*: A. 5, 8, 1 incommoda valetudo . . . u. cum sine febris laborassem . . . tenebat; F. 10, 32, 4 nec retinuissem . . . u. cum . . . fecerint.

If we judge by the original meaning of *cum* it was used to introduce a statement of the spatial relations of two points closely connected in the same plane of activity. In the transfer to temporal statements this characteristic was maintained so that the

cum clause is defined as expressing 'the circumstances under which' or 'the situation under which' the main action is performed. However, in A. 3, 8, 1 Achaia . . . exitus difficiles haberet, cum inde proficisceremur, the main verb gives the situation under which the *cum* action took place. In some other passages *cum diceret* has merely a participial force, as in A. 1, 14, 3 ornatissime de meo consulatu locutus est, cum ita diceret . . . ; A. 1, 16, 2 sed ductus odio properavit rem deducere in iudicium, cum illum plumbeo gladio iugulatum iri tamen diceret. The remote as well as the immediate circumstances may be expressed in the same sentence by the pluperfect and the imperfect, as in A. 6, 1, 6 si Brutus putabit me quaternas centesimas oportuisse decernere, cum tota provincia singulas observarem itaque edixissem ; A. 6, 2, 1 cum Philogenes . . . venisset et se statim ad te navigaturum esse diceret, has ei litteras dedi. Even when the pluperfect is used alone new conditions may arise under which the main action takes place, as in A. 2, 19, 3 Caesar cum venisset mortuo plausu, Curio filius est insecutus ; A. 14, 14, 1 ego autem casu, cum dedissem ad te litteras VI Kal. satis multis verbis, tribus fere horis post accepi tuas ; A. 10, 14, 1 cum venisset Nonis Maiis postridie ad me mane venit. This is also true of the imperfect, as in A. 7, 14, 1 proficiscens cum leviter lippirem has litteras dedi.

As a result of the number of particles used with the same meaning, different forms of statement are sometimes equivalent. *Cum* with the indicative in F. 7, 28, 3 equals *ubi* with the indicative F. 9, 20, 3, and A. 1, 5, 4 ut primum veni . . . confeceram is parallel to F. 10, 17, 2 cum primum . . . coepit . . . non recusabat. Compare also the form of the following: A. 6, 8, 5 Bibulus, qui dum unus hostis in Syria fuit, pedem porta non extulit ; A. 7, 2, 6 qui pedem porta, quoad hostis cis Euphratem fuit, non extulerit ; A. 8, 2, 4 Socrates, qui cum xxx tyranni essent, pedem porta non extulit. Affirmative limitation we should expect to be made by *dum* or *quoad* with the future perfect, but F. 12, 19, 3 dum sciero ; A. 16, 16 E, 16 quoad nuntiatum erit ; and (indirectly put) B. 2, 4, 3 quoad Bruti exitum cognorimus, custodiendum puto seem to complete the list of future perfects. On the other hand, the perfects are freely used with *antequam* and *priusquam* in negative statements, showing that Cicero preferred to negate each preceding point rather than state the terminus affirmatively.

There is much in the epistles which is unpremeditated and

loosely stated, and the verb is sometimes omitted: A. 8, 11 B, 2 fui Capuae quoad consules; A. 4, 8 a, 1 Apenas vix discesserat, cum epistula; A. 14, 4, 1 nam, cum Matius, quid censes ceteros; F. 7, 28, 1 cum quidem haec urbs; A. 9, 18, 1 cum multa; A. 10, 1, 1 dixit . . . cum ego; Q. 3, 2, 3 nomina data, cum ille verbum nullum.

	Present Indicative.....	Perfect Indicative.....	Future Indicative.....	Future Perfect Indicative	Imperfect Indicative....	Pluperfect Indicative....	Present Subjunctive.....	Perfect Subjunctive.....	Imperfect Subjunctive...	Pluperfect Subjunctive..	Total.....
Postquam.....	14					3		2			19
Post...quam.....	4					1				1	6
Posteaquam.....	3	34			2	1		3	2		45
Postea...quam.....		11				1			1		13
Ubi.....		2	1					1		1	5
Ut.....		50			2	2		10		1	65
Simul ac.....		11		10	1			1	1	2	26
Quotiens.....	3	4	2				1		1		11
Dum 'while'.....	40	6	10		5		5		7		73
'until'.....	4		2	1			17		15		39
'provided'.....							9	1	4		14
Quoad 'as long as'..	4	7	21		1		3	1	3	1	41
'until'.....				2			8		9	4	23
Quam diu.....	2	7	3				1				13
Antequam.....	5	14	1	5			7	2	7	8	49
Ante...quam.....	2	4						2	1	3	12
Priusquam.....	1	3		3			5		3	6	21
Prius...quam.....	1	3	1	2			1		2	4	14
Cum.....	82	104	88	103	75	5	242	136	436	379	1650
	147	278	129	126	86	13	299	159	492	410	2139

The accompanying table gives the occurrences of the different particles and the tenses used with them. Leaving out the occurrences with *cum*, the present tenses are found chiefly with *dum*,

and the perfect subjunctive with *ut*. The futures are fairly frequent excepting with *postquam*, *ubi* and *ut*, and the indicative is often retained within a subordinate subjunctive clause. The table does not show the subjunctives due to *oratio obliqua*, and so it can not be used to compare the indicatives with the pure subjunctive constructions; yet the general usage is sufficiently plain. *Posteaquam* is preferred to *postquam*, *antequam* to *priusquam*, with all of which the undivided is preferred to the divided form, and the prevailing construction is with the perfect indicative, as it is also with *ut*, and with *ubi*, which is rarely used. *Dum* is used more freely than is *quoad*, especially in expressing the limit, but about the same in indicating complete coextension. *Simul ac* is relatively fairly common, while *quam diu* and *quotiens* are not freely used.

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VII.—A NEW ITALIC DIVINITY.

[PLATE]

A bronze strainer (*colum*) of beautiful form, fine workmanship, and great antiquity has recently come into the archæological collection of the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. According to the report of the Italian antiquarian who was offering it for sale in March, 1906, it was privately excavated near Cortona not long before that date. The strainer was commonly used in antiquity and was frequently represented on Greek vases and in Etruscan paintings and reliefs, especially in the hands of cup-bearers at banquets. Examples may be seen in Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Taf. 84; Hartwig, *Die Griechische Meisterschalen*, xxiv, and *Monumenti Antichi*, ix, pl. 13. Martial (xiv, 103) speaks of this utensil as *colum nivarium*, because it was often filled with snow, so that it served not only as a strainer for wine, but also as a cooler at the same time. The present specimen consists of a circular bowl (13.7 cm. in diameter, including the margin—itself 1.1 cm.—and 4.9 cm. deep in the centre), on one side of which extends the handle, and on the other, directly opposite, a shorter projection similar to a handle cut in such a way as to make a long, narrow loop. The total length from the end of the handle to the tip of the loop is 30.8 cm. The two strips of metal which form the sides of this loop are bent at the end to the degree of a right angle and are united by a small rectangular plate (1.6x1.9 cm.), which lies in the same plane as the level of the strainer itself. The handle gradually broadens toward the end and then is suddenly cut away to a very narrow tongue of metal, whose unfinished curve and roughly broken end show clearly that originally there was a hook of graceful form by which the strainer could be suspended. The perforations in the bottom form a regular pattern, consisting of a series of eleven concentric circles, the outermost of which is separated from the others by about twice the usual distance. With the exception of the broken hook at the end of the handle and slight cracks in the perforated bottom, the vessel is in a state of perfect preservation and still bears witness to the skill of the workman who beat the whole out of one sheet of bronze.

Ancient strainers or colanders are fairly common in the museums of Europe and this one would require no comment if it had not distinguishing features of its own. The type with handle on one side and projection opposite ending in a rectangular plate is comparatively rare and seems to belong only to Central Italy and especially to Etruria. In 1727 a strainer of exactly the same form was found near Montepulciano and presented to the Museo dell' Accademia Etrusca di Cortona in which it is still preserved. A description and drawing of it were published by F. Venuti, *Sopra i coli vinarii*, in *Saggi di Dissertazioni Accademiche di Cortona*, I, 1735, p. 80. In that case the hook, which is uninjured, bends in graceful curves and ends in an ornamental knob. Other examples of the same type are published in *Monumenti Antichi*, IX, pl. IV, 20 and XI, 9 from Arcevia; one is preserved in the museum at Viterbo, two at Bologna, two at Volterra, one, considerably smaller, in the British Museum (Room of Greek and Roman Life, sec. 33), one in the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, and four in the Museo Gregoriano of the Vatican (cf. *Mus. Greg.*, I, 52, 2 and *Bull. d. Istit.*, 1857, pp. 33 and 131). Two of the latter, found at Bolsena in the excavations of about fifty years ago, bear on the under side of the handle in Etruscan characters the word SVTHINA, which was interpreted by Deecke as equivalent to *sepulcralis* (Etrusk. Forsch. u. Stud., I, p. 95) and by Pauli as signifying "Eigenthum" (Etrusk. Stud. III, p. 37 f.). Compare Torp, *Etrusk. Beiträge*, II, 1903, p. 28, and Skutsch in *Pauly-Wissowa*, VI, 1907, 790.

The broad, flat projection opposite to the handle, found on all the strainers mentioned, is considered by E. Brizio (*Mon. Ant.*, IX, 772) as nothing but a support to rest on one side of the vessel into which wine was being poured, while the handle, also flat, rested on the other. But this does not account for the small rectangular plate, which was probably intended to serve as a hook for the suspension of the strainer, when not in use, from the lip of the jar or pitcher. At all events, experiment proves that it admirably answers this purpose.

The most interesting and important feature of this bronze is the fact that it was dedicated to a goddess, probably in gratitude for an abundant yield in the vineyard. The dedication of a strainer was a not uncommon practice among the Greeks, who usually inscribed the name of the divinity in the genitive or dative case on the handle. Examples may be seen in Charles Waldstein,

Argive Heraeum, pl. CXXV, τὰς Ἡραῖς, and in C. Carapanos, Dodone et ses ruines, pl. XXIV, Δὴ Ναΐφ. In the present case, however, the inscription is found on the flat margin of the bowl and runs more than half around its circumference. The letters, cut in archaic style, extend from edge to edge of the margin, and read as follows:

SACRO·MATRE·MVR·SINA

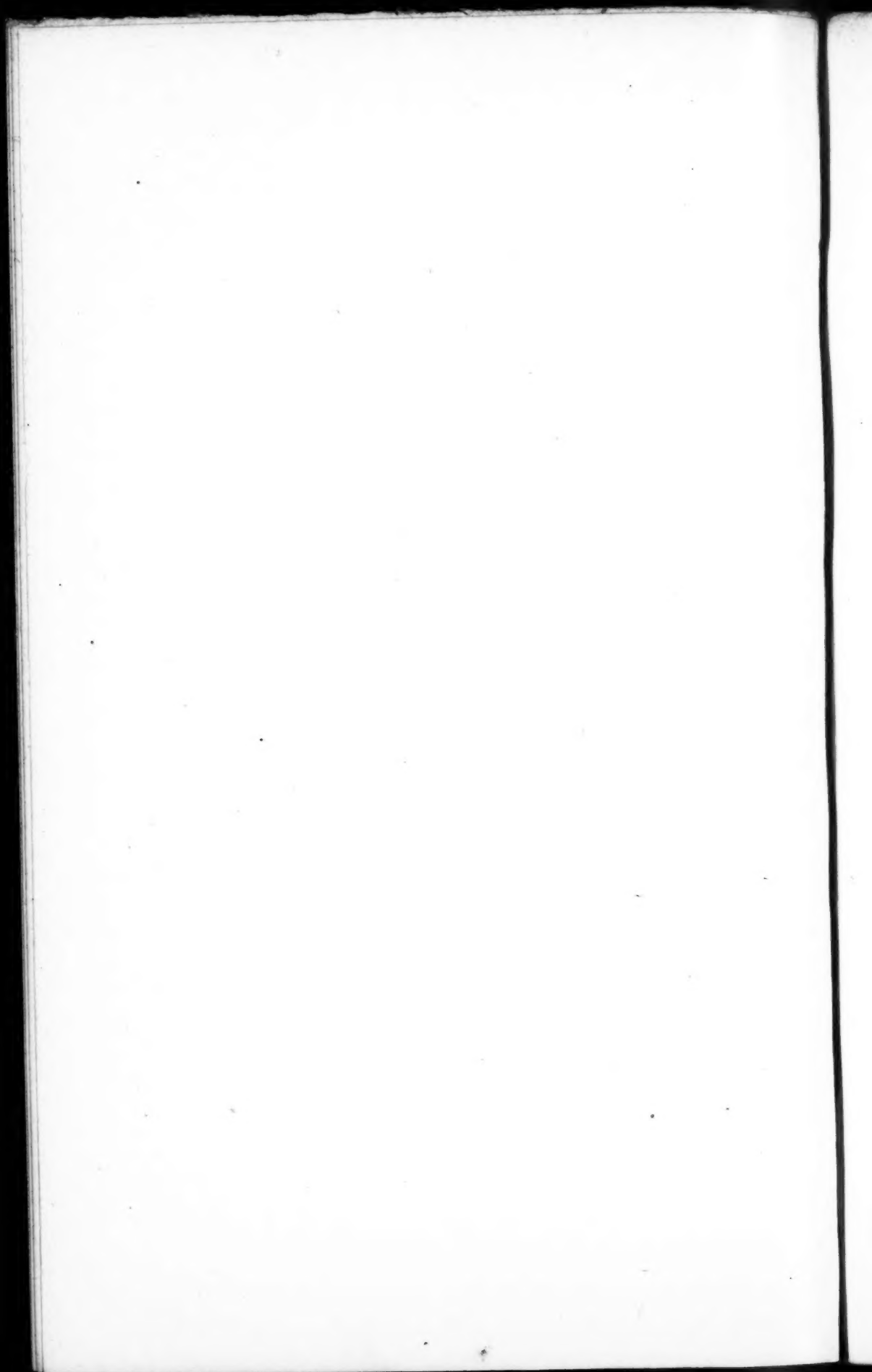
Close parallels to this form of dedication are not lacking: *e. g.*, C. I. L., x, 3807, IVNONE LOVCINA TVSCOLANA SACRA (Capua), and ib. xi, 6301, MATRE MATVTA DONO DEDRO (Pisaurum). The latter, together with the other dedicatory inscriptions of the grove of Pisaurum, Mommsen assigned to the latter half of the third century B. C. (C. I. L., i, p. 33), and Ritschl to a period even earlier (Opusc. iv, 408, unstreitig vor das sechste Jahrhundert). To the same century without doubt belongs the bronze tablet recently found at Norba with the dedication IVNONE·LVCINA | DONO·PRO | C·RV·TILIO·P·F (Not. d. Scav., 1903, p. 256). To cite parallels for the omission of final -m in SACRO and other examples of these forms of the dative, which are so well established for Latin of the archaic period, is unnecessary. The -e form in consonant stems may be in some cases dialectal (Umbrian) but is not necessarily so (cf. Lindsay, Lat. Lang., p. 387).

Anyone who examines the characters on the Mater Mursina bronze can have no doubt of its great antiquity. The angular forms of S and C, the short, almost horizontal finishing stroke of R, the A with broken cross-stroke, the O slightly open at the top,¹ and the N with its first stroke somewhat oblique, together with the consistently archaic character of the inscription, all point to a period not later than 200 B. C., and in all probability considerably earlier. Compare Ritschl, Opusc. iv, 386 and 703; Mommsen, Unterital. Dialekte, p. 29. A close palaeographical

¹ Another example of O left slightly open at the top is seen on the bronze from Nemi, which was recently published by Dr. Ghislanzoni in Bull. Comm. Arch., 1907, p. 103. In the illustration which accompanies the present paper the O appears to be completely closed, but on the bronze itself there is a small space at the top where no incision is perceptible. I may add that the negative from which the plate was made was not retouched or tampered with in any way, nor was the bronze prepared for the photographer in order more clearly to bring out the inscription.

STRAINER (*Colum*) WITH THE ARCHAIC LATIN INSCRIPTION *SAURO·MATRE·MVRSINA*





comparison with early dated inscriptions, especially with those found on coins (*e. g.*, Ritschl, P. L. M. E., VI, 17, 18; VII, 23-30; cf. also XLVIII, A and XLI, B), and with the earliest of the Scipio-elogia, which antedates 200 B. C., warrants us in assigning our inscription to the latter half of the third pre-Christian century.

As regards the goddess herself, her attributes, and the local extension or limitation of her cult, we are completely in the dark. She may represent a type entirely unknown to us, or she may have been a divinity that we know quite well by some other designation, possibly one of the numerous Italic goddesses of Fortune, revered in many places under various names, which were recently discussed by Gàbrici (*Mon. Ant.*, XVI, 1906, 232 f.). Fortuna herself was sometimes conceived as a mother goddess, and many other female divinities were regularly or occasionally called *mater*: Ceres Mater, Mater Matuta, Iuno Seispes Mater Regina (C. I. L., XIV, 2090), Lua Mater (Liv. XLV, 33), and the Umbrian Cupra Mater will at once occur to everyone. Indeed, it is fairly well established that in early times the word *mater* as an epithet of female divinities was widespread (Preller-Jordan, I, p. 56, A. 2; Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus*, p. 23).

There is, then, nothing remarkable in the fact that our goddess of the third century B. C. is called *mater*; the real difficulty lies in the epithet *Mursina*, which does not carry its meaning on its face as does *Matuta*. At first glance one is inclined to connect the word with *Μυρσίνη* (*μυρρίνη*) and to regard it as an epithet of Venus, the goddess of the myrtle. It has been suggested above that the most plausible reason for the dedication of a wine strainer would be gratitude for an abundant yield in the vineyard, and such reverence would most naturally be paid to Venus, whose early association with the cultivation of the vine is well known. This association seems to have arisen in the first instance from the fact that the two most ancient Roman temples of Venus, the one *in luco Libitinae* and the other *ad circum maximum*, were dedicated on the nineteenth of August, the day of the *Vinalia rustica*, which was originally sacred to Jupiter, but thereafter assumed rather the character of a festival of Venus. The fact that both temples were dedicated on the same day of the year is scarcely a coincidence, and the selection was made doubtless because Venus was the goddess of the garden (Varro, R. R., I, 1, 6; L. L., VI, 20) and therefore in all probability of the vineyard as well (cf. Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus*, p. 235). At all

events, the association of Venus with the *Vinalia* and with wine was established early and was not allowed to lapse. Ovid, for example, asks (*Fast.*, iv, 877) *Cur igitur Veneris festum Vinalia dicant, Quaeritis?*, referring to the other celebration, in April, and an inscription scratched on a Pompeian wine jar (*C. I. L.*, iv, 2776) definitely connects the goddess of the garden with wine: *Presta mi sinceru(m), sic te amet que custodit ortu(m) Venus*. That Venus was sometimes called *mater* and was worshipped also under another name, we learn from Cassius Hemina (reported by Solinus 2, 14), who says that when Aeneas landed in Italy in agro Laurenti posuisse castra: ubi dum simulacrum, quod secum ex Sicilia advexerat, dedicat Veneri matri quae Frutis dicitur, a Diomede Palladium suscepit. It is quite possible, then, that *Mater Mursina* is but another name for Venus, the goddess of the myrtle, of the garden, and of the vine, to whom the owner of a vineyard in grateful recognition of her favors in the past and doubtless also in hope of those to come, dedicated this strainer, at once the most graceful and the most characteristic of his utensils.

While the identification of *Mater Mursina* with Venus is quite possible, it seems far more likely that beneath the word *Mursina*, which is apparently a secondary formation, there lies either a local or a personal name. The town of Mursa in Pannonia, founded by Hadrian, is, of course, too far away and too late in time to be considered seriously in this connection, but there may well have been in Etruria another town or a hill with the same or a similar name. A goddess worshipped there would have been popularly known as *Dea Mursina* or *Mater Mursina*. Instances of local designations of this character for divinities are fairly numerous; e. g., *Hercules Musinus* (*C. I. L.*, xi, 3778), *Iuppiter Capitolinus*, *Venus Erucina*, and *Mater dea Baiana* (*C. I. L.*, x, 3698). In the last case it should be observed that the usual name of the goddess (Cybele) is omitted.¹ If such a town or hill did not exist—and there is no trace of any—then we can find the basis of *Mursina* in the *gens Mursia*, which is attested in six inscriptions (*C. I. L.*, iii, 4247; v, 56; vi, 975, 1056, 1058, 22732), though none of them seems to belong to Etruria. In spite of the absence of direct evidence, it may well be that the *gens Mursia* was of Etruscan origin—W. Schulze, *lat. Eigennamen*, p. 196,

¹ Instances of this sort are not rare in the literature, e. g., *mater Paphia* in Statius, *Silv.*, iii, 4, 88 and *dea Praenestina* in Ovid, *Fast.* vi, 62.

does not definitely declare himself on this point—and that one of the *Mursii* had built or dedicated a temple to a goddess revered in or near Cortona (Minerva? cf. C. I. L., XI, 1906), who thereafter was locally known as *Mater Mursina*. This is exactly what took place at Aquinum, if we are to believe the usually accepted explanation of the epithet *Helvina* (Iuv. 3, 319 *ad Helvinam Cererem*), which Mommsen connected with the gens *Helvia* or *Elvia* (on C. I. L., x, 5382). Schulze (l. l., p. 561), on the other hand, assumes a local name, *Helvium*, connected with *Helvius*, as the basis of *Helvina*. If this is the correct solution of the problem, we may be dealing, as before suggested, only with a hitherto unknown and purely local designation of a divinity, whose usual name—possibly quite familiar to us—does not appear in our inscription.

Whether, then, *Mater Mursina* is an entirely new early Roman divinity, whose name must be added to the already long list, or whether she is Venus, goddess of the myrtle (*μυρρίνη*), or whether she is Fortuna, Minerva, or other deity, especially revered in some unknown place which gave her the epithet *Mursina*, or in a temple dedicated by a member of the gens *Mursia*, one cannot determine without more evidence from another inscription or from some other source. Yet at least our bronze has brought to light a new divine name for the consideration of the grammarian and the student of ancient Roman religion.¹

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¹ The inscription, together with a photograph of the *Mater Mursina* bronze, will appear in the new edition of C. I. L., I, 2, pars prior, no. 580, p. 434, of which an advance sheet has just reached me by the courtesy of the editor, Dr. Ernst Lommatzsch. He suggests independently the explanation which has for some time seemed to me the most plausible, and also brings forward one point which had not occurred to me (*coscinomantia*). I print his own words: *Haud scio an subsit nomen loci ignoti, cognatum ut videtur cum gente Mursia. Dedicavit fortasse vindemiator ob vindemiae fertilitatem, nisi cogitandum de genere vaticinationis qualis est coscinomantia.* Professor F. Buecheler then adds a note embodying the theory which I already had in mind when it was suggested to me in correspondence first by the late Professor Minton Warren of Harvard University, and later by Professor Carl Robert of Halle: *idem est μυρρίνη ac μύρρινη, nec Mursinam differre puto a murrina potione uvaque. huius αἶθρον myrtus Veneri sacra, Murteae Veneris sacellum ad circum, Veneris feriae Vinalia.*

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by
J. A. H. MURRAY, HENRY BRADLEY and W. A. CRAIGIE.
Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1905, 1906, 1907.

Since our last notice of the New English Dictionary (A. J. P. XXV 463-467, No. 100, 1904) twelve quarterly parts have come to hand during the years 1905, 1906 and 1907. Vol. VI has progressed from Mandragora to Monopoly (four parts), and from N to Nywe (two parts) completing the letter N; Vol. VII from Pargeter to Polygenistic (four parts); and Vol. VIII from Ree to Reserve (two parts). The letter S will be partly included in Vol. VIII; Vols. IX, X will contain the later portion of the letter S and the letters T-Z, together with some additional matter. Thus the end is in sight, and perhaps a few more years will see the completion of this monumental undertaking. We trust that Dr. Murray and his co-laborers will be spared to see the work through to a successful ending, and to receive the congratulations of an admiring world. A supplement will surely be necessary, and doubtless it is already under way, for new words are being continually added to the language. Our readers are familiar with the plan of this work and the treatment of the vocabulary, Part I having been published in 1884, and notices having appeared in this Journal annually at first, and more recently biennially, although it is now three years since the last notice was published. The historical character of the work has continued to be rigidly preserved, but, as we have had occasion to remark before, the *earliest* appearance of words is not always recorded, at least of words in familiar use in this country, but perhaps the same care has not been exercised in reading works printed in America as in reading those printed in England.

A casual example of this, taken at random from the last part that has come to hand, Niche-Nywe, dated October 1, 1907, is the word *Nullification*, defined under 2 b as U. S. with the notes: "The term app. originated with Jefferson in 1798", but the earliest example given is: "1838 H. Martineau, Western Trav. II 24, Mr. Calhoun is as full as ever of his Nullification doctrines". Perhaps the celebrated Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798-99, and Mr. Madison's Report to the Virginia Legislature of 1799-1800, are unknown in England. The word *Nullification* occurs in the Kentucky resolutions of 1799 (although not in those of 1798), which, as well as those of 1798, are attributed to Mr. efferson. The writer cannot say that this was the *first* use of

that word, but it was used by Mr. Jefferson forty years before the example given in the quotation from Miss Martineau.

To pass from politics to philology, an interesting article is that on the word *Many*, both adjective and substantive, filling five columns, of which four are given to the adjective and one to the noun. After enumeration of the various forms, with examples from *Beowulf* on, of the familiar adjective, we have the etymological note: "O. E. had a derivative sb. *menigeo*, *menigu*, multitude", with cognates in other Teutonic languages. "The O. E. sb., however, did not survive into M. E., and the modern substantival use of *many*, though agreeing in sense with O. E. *menigeo*, was a new development which has not been found earlier than the 16th c."

Turning now to the last column, on the substantive, we find: "On the analogy of *a few*, *a* has from the 16th c. been prefixed to *many*, when followed by a pl. sb. or used *absol.* in plural sense. In such collections *many* formally admits of being interpreted as a sb., meaning 'a great number'. This interpretation is somewhat strained when *a many* is immediately followed by a pl. sb., because the ellipsis of *of*, which must be assumed, is abnormal; but in the other cases it presents no difficulty, and it would often be impossible to determine whether in the consciousness of the speaker the word is an adj. used *absol.* in pl., or a genuine sb."

But it is not yet all plain sailing, for there follows immediately, "Confusion with *Meinie*, of which there are many traces in the 16th c., seems to have contributed to cause the word in this use to be apprehended as a sb." So especially when preceded by adjectives "*a* with pl. sb. (or *people*) immediately following. In this use *a many* hardly differs in sense from *many*, and is now somewhat rare in literary use, though *a good many*, *a great many*, are common colloquially."

Here follow examples from Marlowe, 1590, on: "b. Const. *of*; now only followed by a definite sb. or pronoun. (Some early quotes. may belong to *Meinie*"). Examples are given from Lord Berners, 1525, on.

"c. *ellipt.* and *absol.* (Quotes. 1556 and 1564 may belong to *Meinie*)." Examples are given from Shakspeare on.

"d. sb. App. by confusion with *Meinie*, used for: Company, host, flock; (one's) retinue or following. *Obs.*" Examples from Foxe on.

So it is not always easy to say whether we are dealing with *Many* or *Meinie*.

Turning to a later part of the work, we find over a column on *Meinie*, marked "*Obs. exc. arch.*", with its various spellings from the 13th century on, going back to O. F. *meyné*, *mesnie*, earlier *mesnede*, with the Provençal, Spanish and Italian forms retaining the *d*, which enable us to go back to a popular Latin type, **mansionata*, from Latin *mansionem*, whence French *maison*, "house", and the note: "In English the word was in some of its

applications confused with *Many, sb.*" Examples are given under seven paragraphs, from the 13th century on, all meanings being traced from family, suite, servants, multitude, etc.

Therefore, when this sense is distinctly implied, it is the French word *Meinie* that is meant and not the Old English *Many*, whatever may be the spelling. An interesting use of this word *meinie* (also spelt *meyne* and *meny*) was its application to the "men" in chess; although long since obsolete, it is found in the 14th and 15th centuries. The prefatory note to this Part, however, states under *Man sb.*¹ 15: "The view that *chess-men* originated as a corruption of *chess-meinie* is untenable, the word for '(chess)-man' in A. F. being regularly *hom*." In these centuries we have also examples of its application to the angels and to the poor as *God's meinie*. It is also used of animals, and in 1556 we find: "You are much more worthe than a great *meignye* of sparrowes."

The lack of Teutonic words beginning with P shows how much we are indebted to the Latin portion of our vocabulary. Dr. Murray has given a few statistics. Of 2477 main words in the first Part published since our last notice, which Part was issued January 1, 1905, "only *two* have any claim to be considered native in Old English, viz., *Parrock* and *Path*; a few others, as *parsley*, *part*, *pear*, *pease*, *pea*- (in *peacock*), had been already introduced from Latin before or during Anglo-Saxon times. With these exceptions, all the words here included appear first in the Middle English, or the Modern period. By far the greater part of these come from Latin through French, or have in later times been derived or formed from Latin directly". The longest article in this Part is that on the verb *Pass*, taking up sixteen columns, and its senses, uses, and constructions "branch out into one hundred and forty sense-groups". Here, however, we note again the point, above mentioned, that readers have not supplied the *oldest* use of words in certain senses; e. g., the use of the word *pass* in *Euchre* is traced no further back than a description of the game in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th ed., Vol. XVII, 1884. In *Hoyle's Games* (published by J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1879) is found the advertisement of the American edition (Philadelphia, May, 1857), which contains the rules of *Euchre* and an explanation of its terms, among others "pass" (p. 286). It is there called "a German game", from the use of the word "Bower" (German *Bauer*), but in this Dictionary it is said to be "of American origin" (s. v. *Euchre*, spelled also *uker*, *yuker*, *eucre*).

Foster's *Encyclopedia of Games* (18th edition, 1897, 228-254) gives the different kinds of *Euchre* and their laws, explaining "pass" on p. 233. I have seen no older example in literature than that given in the American edition of *Hoyle's Games* (Philadelphia, 1857), but having played the game myself before that date, I infer that there must be older literary examples of this use of "pass". Under *Euchre* in this Dictionary we find a reference to "Smedes and Marshall's *Rep. High Court of App. Mississippi* (1847)", for use of the word *uker*.

But even nursery words have not escaped observation, for we find *Pat-a-cake*, with the nursery rime, and a quotation from the *Life of Lord Tennyson* (1897): "[He] would play *pat-a-cake* with them". The marvel is that so much has been included, and that every page is full of information, especially in illustrative quotations that might be sought for in vain even in our best dictionaries. A comparison of the words recorded in this Part, *Pargeter-Pennached*, with those in Dr. Johnson's and some more recent dictionaries, is given in the prefatory note:

	Johnson	Cassell	Century	Funk	Here
Words recorded:	425	1844	2379	2388	4720
Words illustr. by quotations:	347	602	785	264	3474
Number of quotations:	1295	1006	2129	348	18039

This comparison speaks for itself.

Several important historical words occurring in this Part are mentioned by Dr. Murray, as Parliament, Parish, Parson, and many others, to which historical or antiquarian interest attaches. There are important articles on names of birds, vegetables and substances. Also, some etymological puzzles are exemplified by a large number of words, of which the origin is obscure, or entirely unknown. Again, certain spurious words originating in a blunder, as *pavade* and *pavon*, the first a misprint by Thynne of *panade* in Chaucer's *Reeves Tale*, followed by others, even by Tyrwhitt; and the second, "a spurious word, originating in a mis-reading by Meyrick, *Ancient Armour*, III Gloss. of O. F. *panon*, Pennon." This word has been accepted by Fairholt, Cussans, Preble, Ogilvie's *Imperial*, Cassell's *Encyclopaedic*, Webster's, *Century*, and Funk's *Standard Dictionaries*. Dictionary-makers will have to be on their guard hereafter lest they be caught tripping.

In the Prefatory note to the Part containing *Methinks* Mr. Bradley says: "The curious form-history of *methinks* is fully presented, probably for the first time"; this may be so in a dictionary, but it has long been a commonplace of historical English grammar, as the works of Dr. Morris and others show. The confusion of O. E. *pencan*, to think, and *pyncan*, to seem, and the early disappearance of the latter, except in the impersonal phrase *methinks*, gave rise to wrong forms and wrong explanations of the older forms. Hence we find, from Shakspeare on, such an impossible combination as *methoughts*, used in the 17th and 18th centuries, of which Mr. Bradley says it "probably owes its s to the analogy of the present tense *methinks*"; we should omit "*probably*". The forms *my think(s)* and *my thought* are even more "curious".

It will, perhaps, surprise some to learn that the common verb *narrate* was called by both Richardson and Johnson, a Scotticism. The former uses it in *Clarissa Harlowe* with the addition, "to speak in the Scottish phrase"; and the latter inserts it in his Dictionary (1755) as "a word only used in Scotland". The common verb *mix* is no longer explained as from the O. E. *miscian*, as we

formerly thought, but as a "development from the Latin participle *mixtus*". Mr. Bradley says (s. v.): "Our earliest example of the vb. in any form other than the pa. pple. is of the date 1538, and it was extremely rare until Shakspeare's time. Of the pa. pple. itself, the earliest examples are c. 1480 and 1526, the latter year being the date of our first quot. for *Mixt*, v. The O. E. *miscian* (the alleged by-form **mixian* is spurious), which has generally been assumed to be the source of the present verb, app. did not survive into M. E." Cf. Elyot's *Latin Dictionary*, s. v. *misceo*.

But to continue our illustrations would easily fill all the review-space of the Journal. Every page furnishes occasion for them, and to one interested in the study of words, each Part is as interesting as a novel. The fresh information, as well as the absorbing interest, will well repay even a brief perusal.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer, by William Henry Schofield, Ph. D., Professor of Comparative Literature in Harvard University. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1906, pp. xiv, 500.

Dr. Schofield has planned an ambitious work worthy of the position he holds as Professor of Comparative Literature in the greatest of our American universities. A history of the literary activities in England for the three centuries following the Norman Conquest is no undertaking for the mere linguistic specialist or the enthusiastic critical novice; it implies not only a detailed acquaintance on the part of the author with the whole field of medieval literature, but also well formulated ideas on the progress of learning and the development of philosophical tendencies and schools of thought. Our author has been fortunate in having as a model the manual of medieval French literature of Gaston Paris, and he has shown his gratitude for his two-fold indebtedness for the plan, and in a large measure for the material of the work before us, by referring to the illustrious scholar as his "revered master."

The book begins with an introduction of twenty-five pages upon the social and political conditions under which this literature was produced. Dr. Schofield has laid due emphasis on England's debt to the Norman Conquest for reviving its zest for learning and religion, which had fallen on evil days long years before, and for making its literature one with the rest of Occidental Europe in its literary interests, erudite and vernacular. The influence of the University of Paris as the focus of Western culture; the significance of both the monastic foundations and the secular clergy as intellectual forces; the part played by the two chief agents in the production of the literature, clerics and minstrels, are denoted

in turn. But only a careless reading of his authority (Chambers *Medieval Stage*, I 46) would have lead him into stating that "St. Francis of Assisi stood on bridges and sang carmina trivialia" (18), or that the medieval English minstrels "were organised into "unions" and had their kings and other officials, were paid according to their skill, wore badges of their profession" (19). The charter for the first English guild of minstrels was only granted in 1469, later by a century than the period of which Dr. Schofield treats, and the title of king was not applied to the leaders (Chambers, I 55; II 260); there is no evidence of any other officials at any other time, and the only badges were the silver scutcheons of the municipal corporation, whose livery they wore (Chambers I 51).

The second chapter is devoted to Anglo-Latin literature. There is every token that this section which forms a fifth of the book was task-work for Dr. Schofield. For the literature of the subject he is indebted to only the most obvious general authorities, and his first-hand acquaintance with the works of the authors about whom he writes is very limited. At times one wonders at his failure to gauge the comparative value of the work of an author among his contemporaries, but one learns the secret of this defect when he finds that the source of many of Dr. Schofield's judgments is the *Dictionary of National Biography*, where, naturally, the estimate given is from an individual and not historical point of view.

One can not correct all of Dr. Schofield's errors of detail; it will be enough to note a few instances of his lack of preparation to deal with this part of his subject. The "certain commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul" (p. 33), published under the name of Lanfranc is not his work, or would our author catalogue mere manuscripts in a popular treatise? The title given Lanfranc's treatise on transubstantiation, *Liber Scintillarum*, is only a scribal addition, and Anselm's *Exhortatio ad Contemptum Temporalium* is not a controversial treatise. Osbern of Canterbury translated only the life of St. Dunstan, and not several lives (p. 34) from Anglo-Saxon. Mention should have been made of Simeon of Durham's more important work *De Regibus Anglorum*, which is an original authority for the years 1119-1129 (p. 35). Dr. Schofield gives a correct definition of the rudimentary "arts" of the *Trivium* (49); why then does he translate the phrase in Gerald de Barri's autobiography; "*trivium ibidem egregie docuit*" with "lectured there on rhetoric and literature" (p. 40). Why does he accept Gerald's own statement not substantiated by any other evidence (Norgate, *Angevin Kings* II 456) that he "was made coadjutor with William de Longchamp, when Richard left England" (40), and can he cite by volume and page the authority responsible for his statement that de Longchamp was a "reformer of monastic abuses (60)"? And what a false conception Dr. Schofield has obtained of medieval society if he always translates

miles, "knight" by "soldier" (41). The expression in regard to Gerald's *Gemma ecclesiastica*, "the author's favorite book he presented to Pope Innocent III", calls for comment, as the first part of the statement has not the authority of Gerald himself, who merely tells how, out of the six books he presented to the Pope, the *Gemma ecclesiastica* received the preference (*Opera*, I 119; III 336). Roger of Hoveden's chronicle is an independent authority for a period thirty years anterior to 1192 (43), if with that year his account becomes more detailed. Ralph of Diceto's chronicle commences with 1148 and not with the creation, and is no mere compilation, although it is only with 1180—not 1188—that he begins to cite original documents. A postulated source of the chronicle of Roger of Wendover becomes "the book of the abbot John de Cella" (44). It was not Lanfranc who "established the scriptorium at St. Albans" (44), but his nephew, the abbot Paul. The assertion "Through his (i. e. Boethius's) translations, students generally became acquainted with Aristotle; for Greek was in early medieval times almost completely unknown" shows a surprising ignorance of the history of medieval philosophy and learning, not corrected elsewhere (cf. 81). Boethius translated only parts of the *Organon*, and the larger part of Aristotle's works, known to medieval scholars, were Latin translations of Spanish Arabs, and a knowledge of Greek had nothing to do with the situation. Peter de la Celle was not a celebrated teacher (51) least of all of John of Salisbury, whom he succeeded as Bishop of Chartres. It was in a letter of 1159 and not of 1169 that John speaks of his many travels, and does Dr. Schofield refer to the necrology of the church of Chartres when he speaks of the "obituary in the church"? Policraticus is the correct spelling of one of his chief works, and if he shows an acquaintance with the whole of the *Organon*, it cannot be said that he "conveyed to his readers a large part of Aristotle's *Organon*" (52). Why not refer to Robert Pullus by his English name Pullen; and is there the slightest evidence that Master Thomas Brown was "a sort of Chancellor of the Exchequer in Sicily" if he did hold such an office in England (53)? Our author has cited textually (55) Stubbs's translation of a fragment of a letter of Peter of Blois (*Seventeen Lectures*, 137); it would have been better to cite from the same source (ib. 164) the translation of another fragment, instead of giving an inferior rendering (54). Only a very careless reading of the same authority (136) could have lead Dr. Schofield to attribute to Henri Beauclerc a saying of his ancestor Fulk the Good (55). Bishop Goliath was no more "a figure of Map's creation" than the Apocalypse and Confession were his works. In fact, more than twenty-five years ago Hauréau showed that neither of these poems was English in origin (*Notices et Extraits*, XXIX 2, 254 ff., 301 ff.), so there is no place for the analyses given by Dr. Schofield (58), any more than for that of De Phillide et Flora (70-71), of which the author was in all probability an

Italian (N. & E. XXIX 2, 308; XXXII 269). There is no evidence for stating that Adelard of Bath—to use the traditional form of the name, instead of the pedantic "Athelard", adopted by Schofield—"established a school particularly for instruction in Arabic lore" (63). The only reason to mention Robert of Retines's studies in Spain, where he died, is that he was the translator of Morien, mentioned by Gower (Steinschneider, Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Ak. Phil. Hist. Klasse, 149, IV 69). Daniel of Merlai (not Morley) was the author of only one book, of which very little has been published (V. Rose, *Hermes*, VIII 330 n., 334, 347). If Bernard de Ventadour resided at the court of Eleanor (68) it was when she was wife of the French king and not in England. But as our author notes all the other troubadours by their Provençal names, he should have written Bernart de Ventadorn, and even in Provençal one finds written the Monge de Montaudon, and not Montaldon. In the poem of Gaucelm Faidit "Fortz chauza es que tot lo maior dan" there is not the faintest suggestion of Richard being proclaimed the "ideal hero of chivalry and the honorable founder of tourneys." The greatest authority on medieval Latin versification, W. Meyer of Speyer (*Abhandlungen* I 286-287) takes direct issue with Schofield on the influence of the form of vernacular verse on Latin writers (69).

What is Schofield's authority for his astonishing statement that William IX of Poitiers was the patron of Bleheris; Bledhericus? (70)? The *Ars Rhythmica* is the name not of a book (74), but of a section in John of Garland's *Poetria*, and the whole poems he introduces as examples are assuredly as much his own compositions as those found in the *Nova Poetria* of Geoffrey de Vinesauf, or de Cumeselz, to give him his real name (*Not. et Extr.* XXXV 432). Peter Riga was not a Dane "de Riga", and why not adopt a modern spelling "Alain de Lille" instead of "Alain de l'Isle". It was in 1210—a date accepted after much dispute—and not in 1207, that the Paris Council forbade the study of Aristotle's *Physics*, and not of all his works (81), and this condemnation was not "practically abrogated" in 1231 (81). The Franciscan convent which received the library of Grossetete was not a "seminary" (83). What are the works of comment and exegesis on which the fame of Adam Marsh rested (86)? Would it not be better to gloss the word Chaldee with its equivalent in modern usage? The three great works of Bacon were completed in fifteen months, and not merely the *Opus Maius*, and the *Opus Tertium* is something much more than an introduction to the other works (86). Schofield should have warned his readers that his selection from Aucassin et Nicolette was from Lang's purely literary translation, or else one would wonder why he translates "capes" by "amices", and "jogleors" by "makers [poets]", and uses such a meaningless phrase as "cloth of vair and cloth of gris" (93). Siger of Brabant was not "secretly done away with", but killed by an insane clerk in public (*Rom.* XXIX 108, 628).

Recent Dante scholars have written in vain when Schofield writes *De Vulgari Eloquentia* instead of *Eloquentia*, and are we to understand that Petrarch's treatise *De sui ipsius et aliorum Ignorantia* is hidden under the title *True Knowledge*? That one of Boccaccio's eclogues was the source of *The Pearl*, as argued by Schofield, has still to be accepted by the learned world. This incomplete list of errors is formidable enough; how much longer would it have been if the chapter had really fulfilled the promise of its title, instead of being padded in the most deliberate way with excursions on Welsh and Norse literature, on Virgil and Merlin as enchanters, and on medieval architecture, all of which would call for as much correction of details and conclusions as the rest of the chapter, if the critic wished to be as impertinent as the author.

With two such guides as Paris's manual and Gröber's article in his *Grundriss*, Dr. Schofield, in writing his fourth chapter on Anglo-French literature, had only to group together the Old French writers of insular origin, or with insular interests, and to emphasize details of special interest to English readers. But one must take issue with certain additions, introduced by our author, independent of his main authorities. The *Bréri* cited as an authority by Thomas in his *Tristan*, may well be the same as the *Bleheri*, mentioned by one of the continuators of Chrétien's *Perceval*, but all the probabilities are against the conjecture that he is the same as the *Blehericus* of Gerald de Barri, and there is not the slightest evidence for the statement that "he probably wrote, a half century before Crestien, poems in French concerning Gawain and other British heroes" (116). That Robert de Boron "has been identified with a landed knight of Hertfordshire" (117) is the barest conjecture (Paris, *Journ. des Savants*, 1901, 704). Walter Espec was only the agent in obtaining a copy of Geoffrey's history from the owner, Robert, Earl of Gloucester (120). The poem of Garnier de (not du) Pont Ste. (not St.) Maxence is something more than the most remarkable of the vernacular lives of St. Thomas (124); it is one of the few masterpieces of Old French literature. What authority is there for the statement that Jordan Fantosme "at Henry's command accompanied the army to take notes of the events"? And why state as a fact that he was "spiritual chancellor" of the diocese of Winchester, when the very office was a conjecture of Michel? But who would imagine that "the rhymed Alexandrines tirades" of Lanfost (123), the "strophes, monorhymes" of Garnier, and the greater part of Fantosme's "poem rhyming in clusters" were all written in the same metre? There is no evidence that the source of the *Conquête de l'Irlande* was possibly in metrical form (124). There is not a word about the dragon in Simon de Fraigne's life of St. George (131). The life of Gregory appended to Angier's translation of his *Dialogues* is the translation of a Latin text, and not an independent addition as one would judge from Schofield's statement

(132). Few Anglo-French lyrics have been published and of these only a part are known to Schofield, and yet for him this is enough evidence on which to base a theory that "the Anglo-French being less light hearted and facile than the Provençal or the French of the Continent" found their lyric inspiration in praises of the Virgin (133). Truly an *argumentum e silentio*.

In the following chapter on "The English Language" it would have been well to include a study of the use of French in England, and the part it played in the development of the language, matters on which there are only hints elsewhere in the book.

With the Chapter on "Romances", the longest in the book, Dr. Schofield is in his own peculiar field of English literature, and his handling of the subject is the most original and suggestive that has yet appeared. But in the necessarily genetic method adopted in the study of the various types of this literary genre, he errs more than once in treating of the sources of English works. His account of the Old French epic is most remarkable. "The early cantilenæ, or lyrical songs in chorus" never bore the name of "chansons de geste" (148), which they preceded, and in some instances inspired. It was hardly "from the eleventh century on" that these cantilenæ "were transformed by professional poets", as we have three chansons de geste, which were written in that century. Nor is it true that "Geste came soon to mean an epic poem" as it hardly ever occurs with that meaning in Old French. And was it only "in their early forms" that they were "distinguished from the chivalric romances by their peculiar metre"? The rhymed Alexandrines of the late epic poems are not hard to distinguish from the octosyllabic metre of the romances. There is much to be said on the French epic in England, and the relation of the English translations to the other versions, but the only suggestion of these topics that one finds is that "the exact originals are not known" (155). Where in the English version of the Chanson de Roland does the translator "denounce wine and women" (151)? The unique manuscript of the Siege of Milan does not carry the story to the capture of the city (154). It is true that the Sowdone of Babylon narrates the capture of Rome by the infidels, but the second part like Sir Ferumbras is a translation of a version of Fierabras.

But it is the section upon the "Matter of Britain", that calls for the most adverse criticism. What place in a manual of English literature has a detailed description of the followers at Arthur's court, taken from the Welsh romance Kulhwch and Olwen, which can not be attributed to "early times" (163-4)? The one item, perhaps worthy of note — its favorable characterisation of Kei — is not mentioned by Schofield. The analyses of the various poems for which Schofield finds sources in Bretagne lays are convenient, but all his theories need to be reconstructed in the light of Foulet's sane and destructive criticisms of the earlier contributions of Schofield, who, however, clings with entire

faith to his ideas about the sources of the Franklin's Tale, in spite of Rajna's strictures (182, 194; cf. Rom. XXXII 204 ff). The conclusion of Eilhart's Tristan is not unique (203; cf. Golther, Zeit. f. franz. Sprache, XXIX 2, 153, Litteraturblatt f. germ. u. rom. Phil. XXVII 63). The one *Or* word cited by Paris, in the passage quoted (204) "*tailloir*" does not mean "stand" but "tray". The following paragraph is a paraphrase of a passage in the same essay of Paris, but neither here nor elsewhere can one find authority for Schofield's statement, that Tristan by singing lays "stimulated the affection of Isolt", when his wounds were healing under her care (204). Does Schofield base his assertion that Tristan was perhaps a Scandinavian hero (212) upon some place-names, that have been shown to be ghost-words (Rom. XXXV 596)? If there is occasion for an analysis of Chrétien's Chevalier de la Charrette—not Conte de la Charrette—(236-8), it should at least be correct. Lancelot and Gawain do not take separate paths in their pursuit of the ravisher of Guinevere, and Lancelot, far from being too late to attempt a rescue, has his horse killed; and for this reason, and not because "his horse breaks his leg", is he ready to mount the cart. The queen does not show her disfavor to Lancelot because he has ridden in the cart, but because he hesitated to do so.

It is not necessary to carry the detailed criticism further in order to give one's unfavorable judgment on the book, as a trustworthy manual of the subject. Attention has been called only to erroneous statements of facts; but occasions for finding fault with the author on matters of opinion, and even of good taste, present themselves just as frequently. Parts of the book are vitiated by two theories, to which Schofield holds through foul and fair; the discredited eighteenth century view of the influence of Provençal on English literature (67 ff. 133), and an exaggerated *not* or *but* more modern conception of Celtic influences in medieval literature. Schofield drags in allusions to Welsh and Irish literature, which give a measure of his Celtic scholarship, and for him "the king of the Celtic Other-world is substituted for Pluto" (185), and the "air-castle" in which Niniane imprisons Merlin, is of "a kind familiar to every reader of British tales" (251). A wider acquaintance with the literature of folklore would keep Dr. Schofield from seeing a Celtic source in so many literary motives, and would broaden the discussion of English texts, for which there is no immediate French source, and the consequent bibliographical aid in Paris's manual. For instance an acquaintance with the many versions of "The Envious and Greedy Man" would have made unnecessary the remark about the unchivalric conduct of the hero of Sir Cleges (322; cf. e. g. Dunlop's Geschichte der Prosadichtungen, Übers. F. Liebrecht, 257, 491); and the many analogues of The Smith and his Dame show that it has been assuredly "popular among the common folk" (330; cf. e. g. R. Köhler, Kleinere Schriften, I 132).

GEORGE L. HAMILTON.

REPORTS.

HERMES XLI.

Fascicle I.

Vom antiken Kataster (Nebst einer Tafel) (A. Schulten). I. S. interprets at length an inscribed marble slab, found at Orange, the ancient Arausio, which was first published by Dechelette in the *Mémoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse* 1904, p. 209 f. and then by Espérandieu in the *Revue épigr.* 1904, 97 f. While it records a perpetual lease of city property it is really a tax register similar to the Arausio fragments discussed by Mommsen in *Hermes* XXVII, p. 102 f., and must be assigned with these to the first half of the I Century A. D. [sic, p. 2; but p. 44 to about 20 B. C.]. The new fragment, probably nearly complete, is unique as being the first tax register of city property. The size of the insula or block seems, by a plausible conjecture, to have been 240 X 120 ft. The situation was marked ad K[ardinem], the Decumanus does not appear; but ad ludum at one end was sufficiently specific. At the founding of the colony by Caesar [After 46 B. C. Marquardt and Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsverw.* I, p. 264] this insula seems to have been assigned to six colonists in equal lots of 35 ft. front, each with an ambitus of 2½ ft. The latter were subsequently abolished and the insula divided into six lots with respectively 20, 20, 34½, 35, 55½, 75 ft. front, which again were combined to form three lots of 40, 69½, and 130½ ft. front. In this form a manceps, with his fidejussor, leased the insula in perpetuum. This shows that a manceps' lease was not limited to five years as Mitteis believes (*zur Gesch. d. Erbpacht im Altertum*, p. 14 f.). [But the latter's objections to the perpetuity of a double lease, i. e. to both manceps and tenants, in which Schulten believes, do not seem removed in view of the lack of permanence in house-tenancy, illustrated in the changes indicated above.] The manceps C. Naevius Rusticus had to pay in ann[os sing[ulos] XI as well as —X LXIXS for the middle lot of 69½ ft. front and probably corresponding sums for the other two. With the aid of ancient and modern illustrations S. interprets XI as so many aurei rent, due the community of Arausio and the second item as representing 69½ denarii tax due the state. II. That -X is a variety of the symbol X, meaning denarius (doubted by Mommsen, *Hermes* XXVII, p. 107 f.), throws light on the older fragments, which, accordingly, S. discusses anew with copious illustrations. They represented farmland of Arausio with specifications of location, size of lots taxed and exempt, classification as to quality, etc. It is probable that they as well as the new fragment were based on

surveys and land registers of the Narbonensis made for the census of Augustus 27-12 B. C. and collected by Balbus.

Eine erhaltene Abhandlung des Metrodor (S. Sudhaus). In the Herculanean papyrus 1424 Φιλοδήμου περὶ κακιῶν κ.τ.λ. occurs a passage (12, 45-21, 35), which is clearly not by Philodemus as shown by the style and language; besides, the contents point to an early Epicurean philosopher. To this must be added section 22, 9-24, 19, which Philodemus refers to αὐτῷ, evidently the same authority. Preceding the former extract we find the words κείται τοῖς [νυν ε]ν τῷ Περὶ π[λο]υτου Μ[ητρ]οδώρου τοιαῦ[τ]α, which have been regarded as merely referring to a similar treatise of Metrodorus; but with the above considerations and the restoration of some intervening lines S. believes he has found the first undoubted specimens of the style of Epicurus' favorite pupil.

Zur Lebensgeschichte des Valerius Soranus (C. Cichorius). Our information concerning the grammarian and antiquarian Quintus Valerius Soranus has been not only limited but vague. His prominence is shown by Varro and Cicero, the latter giving the one definite date (91 B. C.). He is generally identified with the tribune who suffered death in Sicily for divulging the religiously guarded mystic name of Rome, probably in his Ἐποπτίδες (Servius, Aen. I 277). But when? As he was called Soranus from his native town Sora (near Cicero's birth-place Arpinum), Cichorius is able to identify him with the Quintus Valerius whom Pompey put to death in Sicily 82 B. C. Accordingly his birth would fall about 140-130 B. C., and the P. Scipio he addresses in Varro's citation (de l. l. 7.31) cannot be the younger Africanus (cf. Teuffel and Schmekel, Die Philosophie d. mittleren Stoa, p. 446); but, possibly, the P. Scipio Nasica, praetor 93 B. C. Valerius' execution would seem to have resulted from his adherence to the Marian party, and the reason given in Servius (l. c.) was probably a popular story which Varro (Servius' source) adopted to shield his friend Pompey.

Epigraphisches (Ad. Wilhelm). I. W. restores, with interesting comments, the Magnesian inscription 102 of which O. Kern, the editor, had restored only a few lines, and adopts ἀγωνοθέται τοῦ μουσικοῦ, which title (without ἀγῶνος) seems peculiar to inscriptions of Magnesia. Kern's reading κήρυκες τοῦ μουσικοῦ on the basis of another restoration is improbable. W. suggests that the nameless decree in Papers of the Amer. Sch. at Athens I, p. 17 originated in Magnesia, and offers emendations. II. Ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος in IG. XII 5, 47, means 'for the present', ἀρχοντος is not to be supplied. This phrase is common in decrees that apologize for small gifts with a view to better times. Such a decree was passed by the Sikyonians (IG. IV 426, Papers of the Amer. Sch. V 16), which should read: ρου τιμᾶσαι, ὥς μέντοι καὶ τὰ πράγματα τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν (= δᾶμον) ὄντα εἰς ἀποκατάστασιν ἔλθῃ, ὅτι νουθετησέται καταξίως αὐτοῦ τιμᾶσαι ὁ δᾶμος. The probable date of this decree (about 200 B. C.) was a time of trouble (cf. Polyb. XVIII 16).

Ethnika und Verwandtes. I. (W. Dittenberger). In Italic as well as other I.-E. languages, derivative adjectives in *-ko* were frequently employed as ethnic names (cf. Celtic: Aremorici, Vindelici; Italic: Hernici, etc.). This is contrary to Greek usage, which is further evidence against a Graeco-Italic period. A few cases appear in Stephanus Byz., which however can be explained or are suspicious. *Ἀπειρικός*, indeed, is the inscriptional name of a people in *Αἰτωλία ἐπίκτητος*; but this is due to contamination with a non-Greek element. *Γραικοί* was formed from *Γραιός* on Italic soil (Niese, v. Wilamowitz). Accordingly *Ῥοπικοί*, *Ἐρνικοί*, *Ὀμβρικοί*, etc., are Italic names adopted by Greek writers. Occasionally such names received a Greek color, which accounts for *Ἐρνικες*, *Ῥοπικες*, etc. This explains the true reading *Ῥοπικας* in Thuc. VI 2, 4, where some editors with good MS authority read *Ῥοπικούς*; but the former is proved by *ἐν Ῥοπικίᾳ* (Thuc. VI 4, 5), the latter requires *ἐν τῇ Ῥοπικῇ*. Doublets like *Ūmbri* and *Ὀμβρικοί* are not respectively Latin and Greek; but Italic like *Ὀλοσοί* and *Ὀλοσκοί*, or again, *Αὔσονες* and *Aurunci*. There are interesting discussions of these and other Italic names.

Ein Sosylos-Fragment in der Würzburger Papyrussammlung (U. Wilcken). Forty pieces and shreds of an Egyptian papyrus make up four columns of handsome uncials, I and IV fragmentary, II and III containing some 173 words of continuous text. The title on the verso: *Σωσύλου τῶν περὶ Ἀννίβου πράξεων δ*, added later in cursives, assures a date not later than a hundred years after the second Punic war. We see here the first lines known of Hannibal's companion and teacher. The language shows remarkable agreement with that of Polybius, the matter, greater ability than Polybius' strictures (III 20) would allow. An unknown detail of a naval battle, possibly the one at the Ebro 217 B. C. (Polyb. III 95, 5 f., Livy XXII 19, 5 f.) is told, in which the Massaliotes, contingent allies of Scipio, frustrate the *διέκπλους* of the Carthaginians by means of a double line formation, which had been successfully employed by Heraclides of Mylassa at Artemision. This allusion to the stratagem of Heraclides joined with praise of his *ἀγχίνοια* agrees remarkably with his victory over the Persians (Hdt. V 121) and justifies his biography by the elder Scylax (Suidas), his countryman and contemporary (Hdt. IV 44). Herodotus' failure to mention this stratagem may go to show that his account is fragmentary. Wilcken regards his elaborate discussions as only preliminary.

Livius and Augustus (H. Dessau). Livy supports Augustus in his social reforms in the preface to books I-V, published 27 B. C., or soon after (cf. Festsch. zu O. Hirschfeld's 60^{ten} Geburtstag, p. 461 f.), so also (IV 20) in his opposition to granting the honor of *spolia opima* to M. Licinius Crassus on the ground that he was not commander suo auspicio, the prerogative now of the emperor. For while Livy (IV 19) tells the popular story of A. Cornelius

Cossus' winning spolia opima as tribune, in IV 20 he informs us that Cossus was really a consul at the time on the authority of Augustus, who, at the restoration of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, had read this title inscribed on the cuirass of linen which C. had dedicated. Dessau discusses the various aspects of this question.

Der Eid der Schiedsrichter in Athen. (Th. Thalheim). Lipsius (Das Attische Recht 222) distinguishes between the friendly settlement brought about by a διαλλακτής and the pronouncement of a διαιτητής made under oath, the latter only having legal force. Th. doubts the legal support in view of the evidence; but admits that some such distinction existed in practice. The formality of the oath was at the discretion of the contending parties and the friendly agreement reached through a διαλλακτής was equally binding.

Miscellen: U. v. Wilamowitz controverts Capella's argument that the physicist Arrian was a source of Poseidonius (A. J. P. XXVIII, p. 99). Agatharchides does not mention him as is generally believed (cf. Susemihl Alex. Lit. I, p. 775); the passage in question is by Photius himself (Photius Bibl. codex 250, p. 460 b), hence there is no evidence for a date as early as the II century B. C. Moreover such a Roman name was impossible for a Greek in the time of Polybius. This Arrian was probably contemporaneous with his namesake of Nicomedia. B. Warnecke finds that just as Aelian's letters 13-16 are an echo of Menander's Δύσκολος (Hermes XL, p. 170) so letters 7 and 8, to and from the ἑταίρα Ὀπώρα, depend on the Opora of Alexis. C. Robert would read in Pausanias X 9, 2 αὐληταὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ ὅσοι ἀγωνιστὰι μουσικῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐγίνοντο μετὰ οὐδενὸς λογισμοῦ, omitting μετὰ τῆς σπουδῆς as a gloss together with the reading of the Vindobonensis, adopted by Spiro. Pausanias cites Phaylus for the sake of the λόγος, as he often does, a strange method for a guidebook. An inscribed base (B. C. H. 1897, 288) proves that Μύνδιον (id. X 9, 10) should be Μήλιον. C. Robert considers Aves 544 κατὰ δαίμονα καὶ συντυχίαν a reminiscence of the famous verse of Diagoras κατὰ δαίμονα καὶ τύχαν κ.τ.λ. and so objects to the insertion of κατὰ or τινα to make a correspondence with v. 456, which instead might be abbreviated to ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τᾶξυνέτου, omitting φρενός (cf. Scholion).

Fascicle 2.

Ethnika und Verwandtes II (W. Dittenberger). Relying mainly on inscriptional authority D. discusses in the three subsequent articles (Hermes 41, 161-219; id. 42, 1-34; id. 42, 161-234) the formation and meaning of the different classes of gentilia and their relations to the derivatives in -κος. The latter are of course common in Greek, even as applied to persons; but they are more strictly differentiated from gentile names in Greek than anywhere else (cf. I above). Some of his results as to formation follow: The stem vowels ο-ς, ου, α(η) are regularly dropped before -ευ-(ς)

and -ιδ-(ς); but nouns in -εια frequently developed certain changes. From Δεκέλεια were formed Δεκελειεύς and Δεκελεύς; from Μελίτεια, Μελίτα(ι)εύς; from Τρίτεια both Τριταιεύς and Τριτεύς. The dissimilation of -ειεύς to -αιεύς is only sporadic, the suppression of ει very common. On the other hand by analogy from stems ending in -αιον or αια, words ending in simple α formed derivatives in -αιεύς as Θηβαιεύς for the usual Θηβαίος. The fem. suffix -ις (after ι, -ας, cf. 'Ιάς) not only corresponds to -εύς; but spread to many primitives, as 'Ελληνίς. But in the numerous Hellenistic settlements in the Orient -ις was crowded out by -ισσα, as in 'Αντιόχισσα, Λαοδίκισσα, and occasionally by -ίτις as in 'Αλεξανδρίτις. The suffixes -τας (της), Fem. -τις are simply added to α-stems; but when ε or ι precede we find -ωτης, except in Ionic. Hence the natives of Μασσαλία called themselves Μασσαλιῆται, others Μασσαλιῶται. [The use of both forms in Polybius is doubted by D; but see *Hermes* 41, p. 111.] The seemingly unhellenic suffix -σται, as in *Δυγκησται*, is rare; but common, the intrusion of -της, -τις into foreign names, as in 'Αρπινᾶται, Ναρβωνίτις for Arpinates, Narbo-nensis, and in Oriental names such as 'Αμαλακίται, 'Αμορίτις, although the intrusion of -ηρός, ηνή (Δαμασκηρός) is commoner. The hypocoristic Λάκων interchanges freely with Λακεδαιμόνιος, excepting that the latter is official; but Λάκαινα is almost in exclusive use. 'Ατθίς for 'Αθηναίς must be classed with 'Ελλάς for 'Ελληνίς, 'Ιδς for 'Ιωνίς; the doubling of the consonant is characteristic for these hypocoristic forms. The derivatives in -κος are simply formed from primitives and from words in -της and -νος (cf. Σκυθικός from Σκύθης, Βαργυλιτικός from Βαργυλιῆτης, Κυζικηνικός from Κυζικηνός); when derived from gentilia in -ιος, -ικος becomes -ακος (cf. Κορινθιακός from Κορίνθιος). Sometimes doublets occur as Βοιωτικός from Βοιωτός and Βοιωτιακός from Βοιωτίος. The custom of using forms in -ιακά as titles of books produced abnormal derivatives like Εὐρωπαϊακά. As Λακωνικός is the hypocoristic formation for Λακεδαιμονιακός, corresponding to Λάκων for Λακεδαιμόνιος, so 'Αττικός was used for 'Αθηναϊκός from 'Ατθίς the hypocoristic of 'Αθηναίς; hence 'Αττικόν etymologically meant anything that pertained to 'Αθῆναι or the 'Αθηναῖοι.

Die Verhöhnung Christi durch die Kriegsknechte (J. Geffcken). The attempts of Wendland (cf. *A. J. P.* XX, p. 217), H. Reich, H. Vollmer, etc., to throw light upon the scene: Christ in the Praetorium, whether it be to substantiate or weaken the historicity of the N. T. account by the citation of interesting parallels drawn from the Roman Saturnalia, Oriental Sacaea or an Alexandrian mime are all abortive. G. himself considers the scene an expanded doublet of Mth. 26, 88; Mc. 14, 65; Luc. 22, 64.

Opferblut und Opfergerste (P. Stengel). Originally blood and the οὐλαί were sacrificed to Ge as the giver and taker of all life. Expansive as the heavens above, Ge was to the Greek hardly more than a great power; her various names: Rhea, Kybele,

μήτηρ θεῶν, Pandora making little or no difference. The division of this, at once beneficent and malign, nature into Demeter and Persephone resulted in the former supplanting to a large extent the vaguer divinity, while countless δαίμονες along with Persephone represented her evil powers. To these, as χθόνιοι, blood sacrifices were continued; but with apotropaic intent, a post-Homeric conception. This is the significance of the sprinkling the altars with blood and the ceremony of the σῦλαι (cf. A. J. P. XXV 220). The strictly observed ritual in Homer yields interesting results when studied as a collection of survivals that were no longer comprehended. Thus in Homer, and later also, are found clear traces of the original worship of Ge.

Der Mimus von Oxyrhynchos (S. Sudhaus). This first example of the popular form of the ancient mime, published in Oxyrh. Pap. III, p. 41, and ably edited by Crusius in the fourth edition of his Herondas is printed here with a critical commentary and explanations, mainly to serve a general discussion. Depending mainly upon his powers of ἡθοποιία and improvisation the mime actor with his repertory of παίγνια, song and dance, fire-spitting 'feats', etc., has ever remained a favorite with the common people from the Deikelistai of Sparta to the medieval jongleurs (jugglers). Though essentially a solo performance, mimi secundarum partium could be employed, and it was for the guidance of such a troupe that this mime was outlined, as shown by the stage directions and cues. It probably represents the customary prose sketch (for the metrical form of Laberius in Rome was only a temporary innovation) and was so meagre in detail in contrast with a rich variety of events that the archimime must have filled in with improvisations and acquired parts; besides it is too brief as it stands, as was proved by a recent performance of a mimiambo of Herondas of approximate length. Sudhaus discusses the intimate relation of the mime to the Greek romance and develops a number of interesting characteristics, and while the picture he presents is meagre by the side of H. Reich's Mimus, it is probably nearer the truth.

Collationen aus der Ars geometrica; die Dresdener Handschrift des Publilius Syrus (M. Manitius).

Die militärische Laufbahn des Kaisers Maximinus (M. Bang). This first attempt at reconstructing the military history of Maximinus Thrax from the fragmentary and somewhat unreliable sources, shows it to have been the ordinary career of an army officer up to his appointment as praefectus tironibus. This unusual command over the *whole* body of new recruits made it comparatively easy for him to succeed in his rebellion against Alexander Severus 235 A. D.

Eisangelie-Gesetz in Athen (Th. Thalheim). Lipsius, following Swoboda, dated the νόμος εἰσαγγελτικός, quoted by Hypereides

(Eux. col. 22), 350 B. C.; others assume the period immediately following Eucleides. Thalheim thinks the political events of 411 B. C. give the true explanation of its origin (cf. A. J. P. XXIV, p. 471).

Zu Platons Laches (K. Joel). J. elaborates interestingly his belief that Pl. Laches is an attack on Antisthenes' published views on *ἀνδρεία*, and in so far admits that the person of Nicias is literary; but the character undoubtedly represents the Athenian Cunctator, the embodiment of *ἐπιστήμη δεινῶν καὶ μὴ δεινῶν*. That there existed a dialogue Nicias, by Phaedo, which Plato had in mind is unlikely (cf. A. J. P. XXVIII 99).

Miscellen: F. Bechtel regards the inexplicable aorist γόον (Z 500) to be an imperfect γο(ε)ον, with the loss of ε, just as *ὁμονόοντες* (Rev. de philol. 26, 307 ff.) was abbreviated from *ὁμονοόοντες*. Thus we find *μενοίνεον* and *ὁμόκλεον* alongside of *μενοινάει* and *ὁμόκλα*. This will throw light on the future forms *κτεριῶ*, *κτεριοῦσι*. E. Löfstedt commends Vliet for rejecting all emendations hitherto suggested for *tebanibus*, and proposes *euantibus* in Apul. Metam. IV 8.

HERMAN L. EBELING.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK,
Vol. X.

1-10. E. Wölfflin, Der Reflexive Gebrauch der Verba transitiva. Dedicated to Dr. Wilhelm Ritter von Hartel in Wien. The subject has not been adequately treated, especially as regards its earlier history and the usage in late Latin. *Recipere* = *se recipere* occurs four times in archaic Latin. On account of the similarity of s and r in the pre-Carolingian minuscules, *se* may have fallen out in some cases. Two cases occur in Fronto, in one of which *nos* is omitted, which are doubtless archaisms. Caesar has the construction with the gerundive and it occurs in the Bell. Alex. and Bell. Afr. with finite verbs. Since it is not used by Cic. and Livy, it was doubtless characteristic of the *sermo castrensis*. Other verbs of this class are also examined. The classical Latin extended the usage, and especially the late Latin, examples from which are lacking in Dräger and Kühner. The pres. act. part. is particularly common, on account of the lack of a pres. pass. part.

10. E. Wölfflin, Der Infinitiv *meminere*. This form is not cited by the handbooks. It occurs in Benedict of Nursia, and its existence in the second half of the fourth century is implied by the comment of Servius on Aen. 2. 12: *animus meminisse horret*] *defectivi verbi ratio est; nec enim potuit dicere "meminere"*.

11-15. O. Schlutter, Beiträge zur lateinischen Glossographie. Additions and corrections for Landgraf's article, ALL. IX. 355 fol.

15. S. Brandt, *Oculis contrectare*. The passage in Tac. Ann. 3. 12 is, like the one in Lactantius (See ALL. IX. 596), an exception to the usual meaning of this phrase. In the latter an ancient interpolation is *contueri*, but *contrectare* is justified by the parallel in Inst. II. 6. 6 with which Cic. Tusc. III. 15. 33 may be compared.

16. J. v. d. Vliet, *Incommoditas*. In S. Silviae *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, p. 19, 1. 1, ed. 2, Gamurini, this word should be read for *in quo moditas* of the MS.

16. J. v. d. Vliet, *Uelum* = *nauigium*, *ratis*. This meaning (cf. ALL. IV. 413 fol.) is confirmed by the substantive *uelatura*, Varr. R. R. I. 2. 14 and L. L. V. 44. Possibly *Uelabrum* is derived from *uelum* in this sense.

17-82. S. G. Stacey, *Die Entwicklung des livianischen Stiles*. The innovations of Livy and his deviations from the classical style are most marked in the first third of his work and especially in the first decade, while in his third and still more in his fourth decade he returned to a stricter standard. The poetical coloring of the first decade is due to the influence of the archaic poetry, especially that of Ennius, as well as to that of later poets. Parallelisms are given with Ennius and Livius, with the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* of Vergil, with the *Aeneid* (direct imitation not before the third decade), with Lucretius, Tibullus, Horace and others. There follows a long chapter on Livy's changes and improvements in Latin style, arranged under the usual heads, and a brief one on his method of introducing citations and of expressing his own views.

83-116. H. Stadler, *Lateinische Pflanzennamen im Dioskorides*. A collection of the synonyms of the Greek plant-names in codd. Byzantinus and Neopolitanus, which are designated as *ῥωμαῖοι*, following the edition of Spengel. Many of these are not found in the lexicons. They date from the beginning of the sixth century at the latest and many of them are considerably earlier.

116. F. Schöll, *Cio*. In the fragment of the *Brutus* of Accius, preserved in Varro, L. L. 5. 80, instead of *consul cluat*, the traditional reading *consul ciat* may be retained with an object in the accusative understood.

116. F. Schöll, *Lato*. This form may be assumed for Plautus (*Bacch.* 893) on the testimony of Varro, L. L. 7. 16.

117-124. T. M. Auracher, *Die Berner Fragmente des lateinischen Dioskorides*. Those from the first book are given. The others are to appear in Vollmöller's *Romanische Forschungen*.

124. E. Wölfflin, *Pone und post*. In archaic Latin *pone* is local, *post* is temporal. In classical Latin *post* has usurped both

senses. *Pone tergum* for *post tergum* is used by Tacitus, who is followed by Apuleius. Ammianus and Suetonius also use *pone tergum*, but *post tergum* as well; the latter has only one instance of *post tergum*.

125-130. O. Hey, Accipio. Lexicon article.

130. E. Wölfflin, *Zur Lehre vom Imperativ*. Examples from the Twelve Tables, which may be interpreted as expressing either command or permission. This usage is not found in classical Latin and its limits in earlier Latin have not been determined.

131-134. E. Wölfflin, Accognoſco—Accommodus. Lexicon articles.

135-138. Miscellen. E. Lattes, Vibenna. Vivenna. The former and not the latter is the correct form (cf. ALL. IX. 522). It is not true that the Etruscans had neither the sound nor the character B.

F. Weihrich, Eversuiri. This form (cf. ALL. II. 349; III. 457; VIII. 338; IX. 492) is given in August. *De consensu euangelistarum*, I, 19, n. 27 by the earlier MSS, the current *eversum iri* appearing first in those of the twelfth century. *Perspicivus*. This form in August. *De consensu evangelistarum*, I. 37. n. 50 is parallel with *nocivus* beside *nocuus* and may not be an error. It is read by the cod. *Lugdunensis* of the sixth century.

P. Geyer, Praesens = ἡγούμενος. Questions the example cited by Stowasser from Porph. in Hor. *Epist.* I. 20; cf. ALL. IX. 9.

H. Blase, *Zu amabo*. Gives credit to O. Seyffert for the observation as to the persons who use this formula (ALL. IX. 488).

E. Wölfflin, *Sponte sua*. This order occurs in prose first in the *Mon. Ancyran.*, then in *Val. Max.* *Temere ein Tribachys*. The earliest examples occur in *Plaut. Bacch.* 922 and *Trin.* 740; cf. ALL. IX. 8.

139-149. Review of the Literature for 1895, 1896.

150. Announcement of the contents of the projected *Hist. Gr. der lat. Sprache*.

151-175. F. Stolz, *Zur Bildung und Erklärung der römischen Indigeten-Namen*. The etymology of the word *indiges* proposed by Peter is rejected, as well as his view that the *dii indigetes* were a creation of the priests. Stolz derives *indiges* from **ind-ag-e-to-s* = *invocatus*, the root having the same meaning as in *ad-ag-ium* and in *agis* (see Löwe, *Prodr.* 366), and connects with it *indigito* and *indigitamentum*. This is followed by an examination of the individual names of these gods, arranged according to suffixes.

175. L. Havet, *Meminens*. This form may be restored in Plaut. *Miles*, 888 *memoriat meminens et sempiterna*, instead of *memoriat meminisset*.

176. L. Havet, *Mentio* = *mentior*. In Plaut. *Miles* 254 *mentibitur* may be a corruption of *mentibitis*. Then for the preceding *hunc* we may read *nos*.

176. L. Havet, *Salūs*, *Minerūa*, *Latona*. Defends this scan- against the criticism of Schöll in *ALL. X.* 116.

177-186. E. Wölfflin, *Die Entwicklung des Infinitivus historicus*. The variations in the use of the construction from Plautus to late Latin and the question whether it died out during the separate existence of the Latin language are discussed. The usage is especially common in the historians and is confined to the present infinitive, except for preteritive verbs and one isolated case in Bell. Afr. 61. 8 (*occupati esse*). Sallust is especially fond of the construction, using thirteen such infinitives in one period. Tacitus also uses it freely, Livy less so. The use of a single infinitive is more common than is generally supposed; it is confined to words denoting continued or repeated action. The historical infinitive is common with frequentative verbs, less so with inchoatives, which however are much used by Tacitus. Transitive as well as intransitive verbs are used in this construction, reflexive verbs rarely. Deponents are used like active verbs, but the passive infinitives were at first avoided. *Esse* is not common. The example from the Bell. Afr. 61. 8 may be compared with the few examples of *esse* which exist. The construction is most frequent in independent affirmative clauses. The only example in an interrogative sentence is in Petr. 62. It is found also in subordinate clauses, but only in Sall. Liv. Curtius, and Tac., and in temporal and relative clauses. The only example in a comparative clause (Tac. Agr. 34) is doubtful. Caesar uses the construction sparingly, and Cic. uses it most frequently in his letters to Atticus. It is not found in Suetonius, and but five times in the Scr. Hist. Aug., while Ammianus and Orosius do not use it at all. It seems to have died out in late Latin. It is not found in the Romance languages.

186. E. Lattes, *Ergenna*. The Latin-Etruscan word *ergenna* = *sacerdos*, *haruspex* (see *ALL. IX.* 595) has a corresponding word in native Etruscan *erce*, *ercem*, *ercefas*.

187-208. O. Schlutter, *Zur lateinischen Glossographie. II.* A continuation of the article on pp. 11 fol.

208. E. Wölfflin, *Tesquitum*. This word (= *tesquetum*) may be derived from *tesqua*, meaning a strip of unfruitful land; cf. Porph. in Hor. Epist. 1. 14. 19.

209-224. G. Landgraf, *Der Accusativ der Beziehung (determinationis)*. This construction, according to Delbrück, begins in

Greek with *ἄνθρωπος* and *γένος*. In Latin *nomen* is not found, but *genus* and synonyms are frequent and with adjectives of the same meanings as in Greek, very rarely with substantives. The only example of the construction in archaic Latin is a disputed instance in Plaut. Pseud. 785. Vergil first uses the construction freely. He is followed by the other poets and by some few prose writers. The examples are divided into two groups: the acc. with adjectives (and substantives) and the acc. with passive verbs. Under the adjectives, two divisions are made, of acc. substantives modifying an adj. and adjectives modified by the acc. plur. of neuter pronouns, such as *multa*, *alia*, etc., which have become practically adverbs. The adjectives themselves are arranged according to their meanings. An extension of this use from the adj. through the participle is seen in the use with finite forms of intransitive verbs; first in Lucr. 3. 487 *tremit artus*. While in Greek the use with verbs was extended from active to passive forms, in Latin the reverse is true, which favors the view that the construction is a borrowed one. The accusative with verbs used in a middle sense is a native Latin construction, which coalesced with the accusative of relation and cannot in all cases be distinguished from it.

225-228. G. Landgraf, *Nugas = nugax*. *Nugas* is used as an elliptical acc. of *nugae* (sc. *agis, agit*). It is used in the colloquial language of persons, and as a vulgar form of the adjective *nugax*. The latter has regularly been changed by copyists and editors to *nugax*. Its existence however is assured by two examples in Salvianus, *De Gub. VII. 1. 6* and by glosses. There was besides an indeclinable adjective *nugas*, the origin of which was parallel to that of indecl. *damnas*.

228. W. M. Lindsay, *Vulgärlateinisches bubia. graba*. *Bubia* (= breast) is found in cod. Bodl. Auct. F IV 32, fol. 23 recto. The editor suggests that it may be the original of Ital. *bogia*. *Graba*, from which *grabatum* is derived, is found in a gloss in Bibl. Bodl. Laud. Lat. 26, fol. 86 recto.

229-246. J. C. Rolfe, *Die Ellipse von ars*. A discussion of the general meaning of *ars* is followed by an examination of the adjectives used as substantives by ellipsis of this word and of the verbs used in combination with such substantives. The adjectives are then given in alphabetical order with the earliest example of the use of each as a substantive, as well as some parallel passages.

246. E. Wölfflin, *Munerarius*. The statement of Quintilian, 8. 3. 34, *Messala primus reatum, munerarium Augustus primus dixerunt*, may be accepted in view of the attitude of Augustus towards new words which were really necessary, in spite of some similar statements of Quint. which have proved to be erroneous. The necessity existed in this case, since *dominus* was ambiguous, while *ludio* and *ludius* were used to express other meanings.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

BRIEF MENTION.

The last few years have been marked by the passing of so many noteworthy personalities from the world of philological activity that the Journal might readily be turned into a Campo Santo. But in the unending procession, 'der eine fällt, die andern rücken nach'; and sometimes the sense of loss makes itself felt more acutely after the lapse of time. With the recent accessions to Homeric literature, with such a monumental work as SEYMOUR'S *Life in the Homeric Age* before me, it is natural that my thoughts should turn to the great representative of Homeric study in England, DAVID BINNING MONRO, to whose memory I am bound by ties of personal gratitude. I was the guest of the late Provost of Oriel a few weeks before his lamented death. He was a stricken man even then, as every eye could see, but no one thought that the end was so near, so bravely did he bear himself among the social exactions of the Encaenia. His demeanor in these trying circumstances was of a piece with his life as revealed by the sketch written some time ago for the *Biographisches Jahrbuch* of the *Jahresbericht* by his friend COOK WILSON, and now reproduced in an English translation by the author (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press) with some slight modifications and a likeness of MONRO after the portrait by the distinguished painter Orchardson. The sketch, slight as it is, conveys a lesson that the showinesses and obtrusivenesses of our day and coming days may well take to heart. MONRO did not give himself freely. So much more precious were his words of approval—*μέγα τοι φέρεται παρ σέθεν*—and I cherish the memory of his gracious acts and his kind recognition. Such a man had to be divined and was worth divining and this memoir of COOK WILSON'S gives the answer to the guesses of those that were without his circle and puts the man and the scholar, with his quiet influence and his wonderful activity, in the right light. The versatility of his talent and the variety of his attainments, as set forth in this brief summary, are astonishing and yet I doubt whether all has been told. Left alone for half an hour in his library, not his study, I was struck by the wide range of interest manifested in the selection of the books, not surprising perhaps in a frivolous mortal of the *feuilletoniste* order but delightful in an austere scholar, whose studies lay in such regions as Homeric Grammar and Greek Music. Here the judge was off the bench, and one always thinks of Monro as a judge. His friend and fellow-worker, T. W. ALLEN, himself an eminent scholar, says of him: 'His udgement was unapproached. The motives of like and dislike

were far from him, and from his verdict there is seldom an appeal. Few can have had dealings with him, personal or literary, without feeling that *πρότερος γέγονει καὶ πλείονα ἤδη.*

From a large mass of material Lady JEBB has selected for publication a number of her husband's *Essays and Addresses* (Cambridge University Press) and has thereby made not only classical scholars her debtors but also those who are interested in the cause of education and especially in the maintenance of Latin and Greek as indispensable elements of the highest culture. It is not the province of this Journal to deal with educational questions. For those who read these pages such questions are settled, and it need only be said here that the advocates of classical training cannot replenish their armory with weapons offensive and defensive of finer temper and greater brilliancy than those which are stored in the essays on *Humanism in Education* and the *Influence of the Greek Mind on Modern Life*. Among the papers that concern the professed Grecian directly may be mentioned the *Genius of Sophocles*, *Suidas on the Change ascribed to Sophocles in regard to Trilogies*, and above all *The Speeches of Thucydides*, a treatise of abiding value, as every student of the historian knows, and the famous essay on *Pindar*, which touches me so nearly that the indulgent reader of *Brief Mention*, although perhaps a little weary of my frequent recurrence to that lonely poet, will forgive me for falling into the reminiscential vein.

My Pindar is the only book I ever made as a labor of love: and though I recognized the fact that others knew Pindar better than I could ever hope to know him, and though my philological training bade me study all the great interpreters, still I dared to face what seemed to me the vital problems independently. Comparison came only after an honest effort to understand the mind of the poet for myself. It is not strange then that Jebb's essay, which appeared in 1882 at a time when I was gathering myself up for my work, disquieted me sorely. Here was a study by an accomplished Hellenist, in whose earliest performances I had recognized the hand of a master, a man of admirable poise, of wonderful insight, of flawless style, a scholar whose renderings made all others seem coarse or crude. If Pindar was to be glorified, he was the man to do it and not I, and if he had edited Pindar, I should have abandoned a work, of which I had been dreaming years before 'the famous freshman' left Charterhouse. So I put the essay aside with 'rueful admiration' (A. J. P. XXVII 481), lest reading it too closely I should copy it too closely and spoil it in the copying. Perhaps if I had learned of Jebb, it would have not been said of my Pindar that I was not in sympathy with the poet, that my book was not a Pindaric book (A. J. P. XXVI 115). But in the course of time that stricture has lost

whatever stringency it had, for, as I have set forth elsewhere, recent critics have been so cruel in their judgments of Pindar that nowadays to call a book a 'Pindaric book' would scarcely be a compliment. Indeed, it would be hard to say what is Pindaric to some people. I have read of late that Méry once quoted Pindar as saying, 'L'or est un rayon de soleil solidifié', and when one of his hearers questioned the accuracy of the master's quotation, his reply was: 'S'il ne l'a pas dit, il aurait dû le dire'. And not a few translations are constructed on that principle. But Jebb's translations have for a generation been the exemplar of all scholars born to the English tongue and if a doubt arises, one must marshal all one's mining apparatus to dislodge the fair structure, the *χρυσέας κίονας* he has reared. Now after all these years, I can study his essay and his renderings in the right spirit of detachment and wonder why I did not use more freely the means of illuminating my poet. And if commenting on translations were not as endless a task as commenting on conjectural emendations, I might take up many pages of *Brief Mention* in unfolding the peculiar felicities of Jebb's versions, felicities that are not all evident to those who are not special students of Pindar; but I can make room for only one little specimen of the thoughts that arise in me as I turn over the pages of the essay on Pindar.

In my commentary on the Fourth Olympian I made v. 18 the keynote of the poem, and translated *διάπειρά τοι βροτῶν ἔλεγχος*, 'The final trial is the test of mortals'. The poem, it will be remembered, records the late success of a man who had reached middle age before he made his mark as a contestant for Olympic honors. At least such is the natural inference from the poetic parallel with the Argonaut Erginos and, while I refused to make the parallel between Psauis and Erginos too close, I was all the time half-consciously making another parallel between another middle-aged man and the victor. The circumstances of my life, notably the upsetting of all my plans of authorship by the Civil War, and its dire sequel Reconstruction had kept me in the background until I had passed the age when some of my contemporaries had won wide recognition and authoritative rank. And so I seem now to detect a personal note in my analysis of the Fourth Olympian.

The final test is the true test. Success may be slow in coming, but when it comes, it reveals the man. The thunder chariot of Zeus is an unwearied chariot. What, though the Horai revolve and revolve ere they bring the witness of the lofty contest? Good fortune dawns and then comes gratulation forthwith.

'The light comes late' I wrote: but there are those who maintain and perhaps rightly that *χρονιώτατον* means 'lasting', not 'late', and that the *δια-* in *διάπειρα* refers not to the final perseverance of the saints in which I was brought up to believe, but to the good old heathen doctrine of the value of rivalry, rivalry which I have

always detested, being at least in this particular in thorough sympathy with St. James. According to this view *δια-* here is not the *δια-* of 'decision', but the *certatim δια-*; the *δια-* we have in *διάδω*, *διαθέω* and the whole list which Dr. Holden has been at the pains of collecting in his note on Xen. Cyrop. I 4, 4. Still it is hard for me even now to surrender my interpretation; but I grant that under the circumstances my testimony is suspect and Jebb is in all likelihood a better guide than the ill-balanced student who allowed his petty fortunes to sway his interpretation. 'Jebb was ever a fighter', we are told, and took delight in the contest for supremacy. Indeed nothing comes out more plainly from his *Life and Letters* which the world of scholars owes to the devotion of Lady JEBB (Cambridge University Press). No wonder that he rendered the line in true Pindaric spirit (*Essays and Addresses*, p. 58): 'Trial against their fellows is the test of men', for he had stood every such test triumphantly and might have said with Pindar: πολλοῖσι δ' ἄγμαι σοφίας ἐτέροισι. Prizeman of Charterhouse, Porson Scholar, Craven Scholar, Senior Classic, Fellow of Trinity, Professor of Greek at Glasgow, Regius Professor (to be) at Cambridge — everything he tried for he gained. 'Cambridge had been his home for seventeen years. He loved every stone in Trinity; the Senate House spoke to him, as he passed, of contests waged and victories won'. He knew the mind of Pindar, he knew the true meaning of *διάπειρά τοι βροτῶν ἐλεγχος*.

Further practical illustration of the importance of the personal equation, drawn from the dissidence between Jebb's view and mine touching Pindar's Panhellenism, might be considered presumptuous (Introd. Ess. xi), but there will be no dispute as to the importance and fascination of the study. The difference due to nationality is more obvious (A. J. P. XXVII 357) and in his essay on Samuel Johnson, Jebb himself calls attention to the fact that 'an eminent French writer, who has shown a power unusual in his countrymen, of comprehending England — Monsieur Taine — is obliged to confess that he cannot understand the English love of Johnson'; but the comparison of Jebb's *Primer of Greek Literature*, which one can readily believe with Lady JEBB 'cost him more trouble than all his other books put together', and Wilamowitz's sketch in the 'Kultur der Gegenwart' would yield interesting results to the psychologist as well as to the student of national character. And it is this personal element that Lady JEBB's memoir enables us to take more fully into account and so to understand better the great interpreter of Sophokles, who, like his poet, does not yield the secret of his art at once. It is Lady JEBB's memoir that has supplied in a measure the peculiar glint of the eye that revealed the thought of the living man, what Dr. VERRALL calls 'the side glance of the eyes, demure and humorous'; and the insight thus gained is worth many pages of the kind of exegesis to which Jebb himself has been

exposed since death has made him a classic. But technical scholarship has its rights and Lady JEBB has left the characterization of her husband as scholar and critic to a scholar of high rank, to a critic of great acumen. How well fitted for his arduous task Dr. VERRALL is, may be gathered from the enthusiasm he rouses in his pupils. In the poems of that 'crabbed coxcomb' Persius there are no lines that appeal to an old teacher like those that set forth the obligations of the youthful Stoic to Cornutus; and I find in the Preface to Mr. CORNFORD'S *Thucydides Mythis-toricus*, which disturbed the peace of my long holiday (A. J. P. XXVIII 356), a tribute to Dr. VERRALL, which I have great pleasure in reproducing here. 'From his books and lectures many of my generation first learned that the Greeks were not blind children, with a singular turn for the commonplace, crying for the light of Christian revelation; and I am conscious, moreover, that in this present attempt to understand not the syntax, but the mind, of Thucydides, I am following, part of the way, a path which first opened before me when in the breathless silence of his lecture-room, I began to understand how literary art could be the passion of a life.' Surely, there could be no better exponent of Jebb than one, whose life is dominated by the passion of literary art. And yet with all his resources of expression Dr. VERRALL pronounces 'the task not merely difficult but truly impossible'. But for all that, he complies with the request 'without hesitation, in the confidence that every reader, in proportion to his own capacity, will be quick to perceive the difficulty and to make the necessary allowance'. 'In proportion to his own capacity' is a characteristic stroke and brings up to every mind Dr. VERRALL'S attitude towards all who approach his own contributions to classical study, which have won so much admiration for their brilliancy from the scholars of our day and carried with them so little abiding conviction.

According to Dr. VERRALL 'sensibility, subtlety, delicacy, economy, reserve were the essential qualities of Jebb's mind and the foundation of his skill in expression', and these essential qualities, which every one will accept, the scholar and the critic, writing of the scholar and the critic, proceeds to illustrate by a study of Jebb's *Philoctetes* and *Trachiniae*, with some comments on the *Bacchylides*. The *Essay on Pindar* and that on *The Speeches of Thucydides* he puts next, as well he may, to the two great editions. I have not space to give specimens of VERRALL'S analysis. Suffice it to say that VERRALL'S study of Jebb itself deserves close study, for there are few better fitted to understand the master; and it has a further interest, of which the author never thought, in that it reveals the difference between the subtlety that insinuates and seduces and the supersubtlety that irritates and repels. But Dr. VERRALL himself would be the first to say that what is subtlety, what supersubtlety, must be judged by

the capacity of the reader; for he is not the one to quote: *Habent sua fata libelli*, without the prefix: *Pro captu lectoris*, lacking which we might as well accept for the famous saying the German schoolboy's translation: *Es haben ein Schweineglück die Wasserjungfern*.

Highly characteristic is Dr. VERRALL's ready acceptance of one of the few dangerous doctrines to be found in Jebb, the right to fall back on the original signification of the word. 'Most Indo-European nouns', says Jebb (*Essay on Pindar*, p. 84), expressed some one obvious and characteristic quality of the object which they denoted, e. g. *ναῦς* is "the swimmer", *δρῦς* "the thing which is cleft", etc. Similarly, *ἀκόνη* is the *sharpener*, *κρατήρ* is the *mixer*. A Greek who called a thought an *ἀκόνη* was thus using a less startling image than we should use in calling it a *whetstone*; to call the teacher of a chorus a *κρατήρ* was not the same thing as it would be for us to call him a *bowl*. And such phrases are less audacious in proportion as they are old — i. e. near to the time when the language was still freshly conscious of the primary sense in such words as *ἀκόνη*. It was with distinct reference to this principle that I wrote (*Introd. Ess.* xli):

Even the most familiar words are roused to new life by the revival of the pristine meaning. It is a canon of Pindaric interpretation that the sharp, local sense of the preposition is everywhere to be preferred, and every substantive may be made to carry its full measure of concreteness. This is distinctly not survival but revival. We are not to suppose that *κρατήρ* (O. 6, 91) was felt by the Greek of Pindar's time as a male agent or *ἀκόνα* (O. 6, 82) as a shrill-voiced woman. Whatever personification lay in the word was dead to the Greek of the time and the *γλυκὺς κρατήρ* became a living creature.

After giving his adhesion to the general principle Dr. VERRALL goes on to say: 'Whether this be a sufficient defence for Pindar or no—Jebb does not say so—the principle ought, indeed, as he says to be clearly perceived, and easily may escape notice'. But if Jebb does not apply it to Pindar, what is the relevancy of the examples? Now poetic art was not at its beginnings in Pindar nor for that matter in Homer, and the audacity of the imagery must be charged to the genius of the poet. Within limits the reversion to the primitive meaning is familiar enough in all languages. 'Re-creation' goes back to the original of 'recreation', and Shakespeare's well-worn quibble on 'understand' is an exemplification of the same principle. In Greek, compounds are apt to lose their literal sense, but *συμφέρει*, 'it profits', may be conceived as 'helps to bear', and on O. 9, 87 I have pleaded for *πρόσφορος* = *προσφορὰν προσφέρων*, and there are other *-φορος* compounds for which a similar plea might be set up. But the liberty must be guarded and the reserved right exercised as cautiously as the reserved rights of the States in our Union, and if the employment of this resource is to be guarded in exegesis, it is still more carefully to be guarded in conjectural criticism. In one of Dr. VERRALL's earliest papers

he conjured up an unprovable *τοπάν* in order to get rid of an undesirable *τὸ πᾶν* (O. 2, 93), and having convinced himself of his success in this case he has not hesitated in time of stress to indulge in what I have called 'plastic emendation'. No wonder then that Dr. VERRALL calls special attention 'to the penetrating and characteristic remark'. It is quite in line with his own practice. Most scholars are delighted when they can summon a glossematic word from Hesychios to their help. Dr. VERRALL is his own Hesychios. Indeed, he distinctly claims the right to construct *ἀπαξ εἰρημένα* and does not balk for a moment at such analogical formations as *ἀντῆς*, 'shrieker', Sept. 132, and *μυθοῦσθαι*, Ag. 1367, *οἴτης*, 'shepherd' Ag. 720, *χῆρωμα*, Sept. 1013, *συλαίους*, Med. 910, *ἀνωμμάτου* 1184. For *τάσδ' ἐννήν*, 'spin', Cho. 278, he condescends to plead. *ἀνῆλθον*, Cho. 535, he derives from *ἀνάλθω*, and nothing gives him more delight than to elicit new meanings from old groups of letters. So *ἐπ' ἄνδρας*, Sept. 268, becomes *ἐπανδράς*. Doubtless Dr. VERRALL knew as well as any other scholar that *διδράσκω* is a coarse word and occurs only twice in tragedy, once So. Ai. 167: *τὸ σὸν ὄμμ' ἀπέδραν*, not an inappropriate expression for the hero's hardy mariners, once in Eur. Herakleid. 14, where it suits the pitiful case of Iolaos. But he cannot set up in defence his note on Sept. 794 where he says that *σποδεῖν* is a strong word of the vulgar vocabulary and accounts for *κατεσποδημένοι* there, 'because all the tragic passages < where *σποδεῖν* occurs > are put, like the present, in the mouth of a common person telling an exciting story'. Eteokles is not a common person and is not capable of 'scuttling', and the assumption of the decompound verb makes the reading still more audacious. In the same line is Dr. VERRALL's derivation of *ἀνακτος* Ag. 1210 from *ἀνάγω*, and perhaps it is this feat that prompted Mr. Bury (Preface to Isthmians) to derive *ἀναξифόρμιγγες* in the Pindaric *ἀναξифόρμιγγες ὕμνοι* from *ἀνάγω*, 'hymns that awaken the lyre', a fancy effectually disposed of by the *ἀναξι-* compounds in Bakchylides as *ἀναξιαλος* 20, 28, *ἀναξιβρόντας* 17, 12 and *ἀναξιμολπος* 6, 10. On the last cited passage Kenyon hesitates because 'Urania that awakens the song makes good sense', but what are we to do with *ὑμνοάνασσα* 12, 1? Jebb translates as from *ἀναξ* and takes no notice of Bury's suggestions. But why insist on what everybody will admit in theory that there are no worse enemies to criticism and exegesis than Puckish fancies and quaint translations? These be the frisky lizards that do so much harm to the denizens of the antique hive. Absint et picti squalentia terga lacerti. But as I write I recall my own sins. I recall my note on O. 2, 6 where I suggest *ὄπισ* = *ὁ ὀπιζόμενος* which is quite in Dr. VERRALL's vein. I recall my *tunicatm*¹ for *tunicatum* (Pers. 4, 30) and the various characteristics Dr. FENNELL has seen fit to bestow on my exegesis of Pindar (A. J. P. XIV 501).

¹ ἄλλ' ὅμως. *Tunicatm* seems to be justified by Eupolis, fr. 255 (Kock): *ἐπιφαγεῖν μηδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ κρόμμνον λέποντα*.

One more note and I must leave this too fascinating subject. Of Jebb's sensitiveness every critic has much to say, but nothing could illuminate it with a stronger light than a casual footnote of VERRALL'S. 'He could not speak of Euripides, without pain in his voice, and seldom, without necessity, spoke of him at all. He had no strong desire, I think, to comprehend such a person'. Here lies the secret of Jebb's silence about those who had worked on the same lines and haply preceded him. I have touched on this before (A. J. P. XXVII 479). If it had been properly understood in his lifetime, it would have saved much bitter controversy about originality. Like the Greeks whom he knew so well and of whom it was said: *ὅτι περ ἂν Ἕλληνες βαρβάρων παραλάβωσι, κάλλιον τοῦτο εἰς τέλος ἀπεργάζονται*, *Epinomis* 987 E (Essays and Studies, p. 174), he transmuted everything he received from others and so made it his own. *Materiam superabat opus* and he might well spare himself 'the pain' of mentioning inferior scholars.

In his *Notes on Xenophon and Others* (London, S. Grant Richards) Mr. HERBERT RICHARDS has brought together his critical contributions to the *Classical Review* with certain additions, omissions and alterations so that the volume may be regarded as a better statement of his views on the passages discussed. Mr. RICHARDS'S *Notes* are not to be confounded with the genial guesswork in which so many of his countrymen indulge. They are based on a close and systematic study of the author with whom they are mainly concerned, and he does not disdain the patient assemblage of facts, lexical and syntactical, so that the Hellenist will find a number of observations to challenge his attention. Strong in grammar, Mr. RICHARDS does not hesitate to correct the slips of such a master as Jebb and to criticize his rendering of Ai. 186: *ἦκοι γὰρ ἂν θεία νόσος*, where *ἦκοι* is equivalent to a perfect optative. Grammar is the Athena of the classical scholar's Pantheon, and when the temptation comes to escape from a controversy on the swift chariot of rhetoric, if syntax, artful maid, is at his back, he may say with Diomed: *ὀκνεῖω δ' ἵππων ἐπιβαινέμεν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶς | ἄντιον εἰμ' αὐτῶν· τρεῖν μ' οὐκ ἔῃ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη*. Of course, a discussion of even a select few of Mr. RICHARDS'S emendations would be impossible in the space I reserve for myself in the Journal. True, Mr. RICHARDS invites corrections of the 'many statements about small matters of fact', but such corrections unless accompanied by a generous recognition of contributions of real merit might produce a false impression and my sins in that line are ever before me (A. J. P. XXVII 229). The syntactician will be interested in Mr. RICHARDS'S valuable discussion of the use of *ἄν* with the fut. inf. in Attic Greek, to which in its original form I have referred in my *Greek Syntax* (S. C. G. § 432), and the special student of Xenophon will weigh his conclusions as to the

genuineness of the disputed works. 'Xenophon's characteristic individual style', he says, 'is found in every one of the disputed writings, the *Respublica Atheniensium* excepted, and in every part of them all'. As to the *Cynegeticus*, which has attracted especial attention in American circles, he does not seem to be acquainted with Professor SANDERS' dissertation (Baltimore, 1903), in which it is maintained that 'a theory by which Xenophon as a young man compiled the *Cynegeticus* from other sources will satisfy the discrepancies between the upholders of the work as Xenophon's and those who consider it spurious', and he takes no notice of Cesareo's assault on the Symposium to which so many pages of the Journal were surrendered in a time of need (A. J. P. XXIII 446-457). 'It is a pity', he says, 'that the dialogue is not more generally known', and he adds 'a new commentary would be worth writing'. 'Generally known' means, of course, 'in England' for he says in his Preface: 'Xenophon is so little studied among us, except as easy Greek reading for beginners and to some extent for historical purposes, and the *Opera Minora* in particular are so unfamiliar that I fear few people will be interested in these discussions'. Whatever stretches of Greek literature the great English scholars have not parked possess scant attractions for their best men and those who have been brought up under other influences find it hard to suppress surprise at the aristocratic limits within which so many of them revolve. Of the *Praelections* delivered before the Society of the University of Cambridge last January, three of the five lectures had to do with Aischylos, one with Plato and the fifth while it began with Pindar led up to Plato. It is doubtless a fine thing to consort chiefly with these elect spirits, but this is not an age of exclusiveness. In spite of Jebb's example it is well for the student of the antique to understand such a person as Euripides, and while I share Niebuhr's prejudice against Xenophon, the man, I should no more shun the study of Xenophon, the author, than I should shun the study of American-English with which, according to Mr. Dakyns's unsupported statement, Xenophon's Greek has so much in common. It is rather interesting to note that Mr. MARCHANT, the editor of Xenophon in the Oxford *Bibliotheca*, should have been the man to open the door of English cubicles to the breeziness of Wilamowitz's *Lesebuch*.

The confirmation of a conjecture by the discovery of a new MS gives a thrill of joy to minds of a certain order. There are those who write letters to the Times about it. Old proofreaders are less ecstatic (A. J. P. XXIII 348). But those who have established an historical point by elaborate argumentation and find their results confirmed by new documents taste the *amari aliquid* that comes from the thought of labor wasted. The implied compliment to the investigator is much greater than the assurance of a happy 'restoration', but most conjectural critics are conscious after all

that they have been guessing and the reward comes like a prize in the lottery. So I venture to say that the late Dr. ADAM was much more pleased by a reading of the 'Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία, which corroborated his correction, and mine of a much earlier date (A. J. P. XII 99), than Professor WRIGHT was at the confirmation of his admirable paper on the *Date of Cylon*, which reversed the teaching of all the histories up to that time; and I doubt whether the young scholar, Dr. GRIFFIN, who argued so stoutly in his *Dares and Dictys* (Baltimore) for the Greek original of Dictys Cretensis, read with unmixed joy the Greek fragment of Dictys, that came to light in the second volume of the *Tebtunis Papyri* just after the printing of his dissertation, the fruit of long and patient research. None of these things move the old stager, anticipation, nullification, nugification, and what the Germans call 'todtschweigen' and I, depersonalization. The main thing is that the new generation be not discouraged.

By reason of its bulk, its scope, its imposing array of proof-texts, its critical discussions, to say nothing of the high reputation of the veteran author, who long ago sharpened his syntactical tusks on that whetstone of grammarians, Thukydides, STAHL's *kritisch-historische Syntax des griechischen Verbums der klassischen Zeit* (Heidelberg, Carl Winter), will at once challenge scrutiny at the hands of all specialists, and will doubtless be accepted by all Greek scholars as an indispensable work of reference. The book is not cumbered with citations of previous researches: and as grammarians are an irritable tribe, it is to be feared that STAHL's blanket acknowledgment of indebtedness to his predecessors—Wir alle sind Schuldner unserer Vorgänger—will not serve as an emollient plaster to the sensitive surface of some of those who have toiled for weary hours among the aridities of statistics and haply won here and there from the chaos of details the cosmos of ordered truth. The philosophical soul, however, will rejoice to see STAHL's day and calmly watch 'the dew drop slip into the shining sea', if a syntactical monograph can be called a 'dew drop' or a Greek syntax 'a shining sea'. In most cases 'morass' were a better word. This is but a preliminary notice to be followed in due time by a detailed review of the book with especial reference to the progress of doctrine in the last thirty years.

A. W. VAN B.: Add to the collection of passages in Professor Rolfe's article, Seasickness in Antiquity, A. J. P. XXVI (1904), 192 ff.; Sen. Dial. I 4, 12: praebendi fortunae sumus, ut contra illam ab ipsa duremur: paulatim nos sibi pares faciet, contemptum periculorum adsiduitas periclitandi dabit. *Sic sunt nauticis corpora ferendo mari dura*, agricolis manus tritae, ad excutienda tela militares lacerti ualent, agilia sunt membra cursoribus: id in quoque solidissimum est quod exercuit.

E. W. F.: Touching Professor Warren's derivation of Skr. *ukṣán-* 'taurus' from the root *vah-* 'ducere, trahere', A. J. P. XXVIII 255, it were well to note *anaḍ-vāh*, with a weak stem *anaḍ-ūh-*, 'onus-vehens' > 'taurus'; cf. also the feminine *anaḍukhī*. Other words of semantic interest in this connection are *vāhas* 'shoulder of an ox; a part of the yoke', *vahalās* and *vahin-* 'working in a yoke, yoked', *vahnīs* 'draught animal; team', *vāhās* and *vāhanam* 'horse, steer, animal'. There is no essential difference in semantic development between *ukṣán-* ['wagon-] puller' and (F) *ῥῶος* 'wagon.' As to the suffixation of *uxmentum*, Professor Warren does well perhaps to waste no words, further than to note, with an allusion to suffix adaptation, the synonyms *armentum* and *iumentum*. Possibly, however, *vahnīs* allows us to predicate a parallel *m*-formation, say *UḠH(S)MĀ*, cf. the pair represented by Lat. *palma*, *παλάμη*, O. Ir. *lām*, in contrast with Skr. *pāṇīs*. That *uxor* also belongs to the root *weḡh-* seems to me most probable, though I can but think it contains *soror*, i. e. [*so*]*sor*, in composition, rather than that its flexional type only is due to *soror*. It seems a mere accident that Skr. *vāhas* did not fully develop the sense of 'yoke', which we possibly have in *uxor* if from *UḠH(S)*-[*SWE*]*SOR* 'yoke-sister', i. e. yokefellow, wife (cf. *coniux*).

Touching *velōd* (p. 269), I have been able to collect hardly any evidence, and all that debatable, for imperative or subjunctive forms in *-ōd*. But an injunctive **teget*, which might appear in Latin as *tege(d)* (cf. *feced* for *fecit* and *dede* for *dedit*) might, on the assumption that *-ōd* (from *-lōd*, by a false division) became 'productive', have yielded **tegōd*. This is just what happened in the Greek middle ending *-σθω*, and in Sanskrit the normal impv.-injunct. ending *-dhvam* appears in liturgical texts as *-dhvāt*, along with a string of *-tāt* forms (Whitney, *Gram.* § 571). The productivity of *-ōd* in Latin might be inferred from *sunt : sunt-od*: in a formal analogy, *vel* (2^d sg. impv.) : *velōd* :: **aget* (injunc. 3^d sg.) : *agetod* :: *sunt* : *suntod* :: *precamini* (2^d plur.) : *precamino(d)* (2^d and 3^d sg.). On the problem of the shift of person in *velod* from 2^d to 3^d, as well as its mood shift, it will be instructive to note Whitney, l. c. For the solution of the general problem of the intrusion of the impv. into dependent clauses see Gildersleeve's *Syntax of Classical Greek*, § 422.

I trust I may be pardoned for referring here to my explanation of the *-σθ*-forms of the Greek verb in *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.*, 29, 12. This explanation, which is, in my opinion, phonetically and pragmatically sound, has never, to the best of my knowledge, come to the notice of any of the Greek form grammarians.

NECROLOGY.

MINTON WARREN.

January 29, 1850-November 26, 1907.

MINTON WARREN, Professor of Latin in Harvard University, died suddenly on the 26th of November, while still in the fulness of active and vigorous life. His death brings sorrow to all who knew him, to few, a deeper sorrow than to the writer of this tribute to one who was his teacher, his colleague and companion, his dear and valued friend.

A Bachelor of Arts of Tufts in 1870, a Doctor of Philosophy of Strassburg in 1879, he received the degree of LL. D. from Tufts in 1899, from Columbia in 1900, and from Wisconsin in 1902. Soon after leaving Strassburg he came to the Johns Hopkins, where he founded the Graduate School of Latin. In 1896-7 he served as Director of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome. In 1899 he was called from Baltimore to Cambridge.

For many of the younger generation and for all who appreciated his gifts as a teacher and investigator, the loss to scholarship requires no formal analysis. His last important work, *The Stele Inscription in the Roman Forum*, concluded in this number of the JOURNAL, exhibits the most striking qualities of his genius, the scope and detail of his encyclopaedic learning, his familiarity with the most remote provinces of his subject, the thoroughness and accuracy that stamped whatever he did and that gave it a permanent value.

But WARREN, the investigator, was even surpassed by WARREN, the leader in advanced work. The results of many a painstaking research went into his ordinary lectures from day to day and were given to his students without comment, while in the Latin Seminary his rare command of method and of training in its practical aspects made him peculiarly efficient. Devoted to his men and tireless in their service, he was at the same time, a stern task-master of others as of himself, and a just though kindly critic.

For a scholar, accuracy, thoroughness, and honesty are imperative. Few have been more striking exemplars of this unrelenting rule in their own lives, few more successful in impressing its value upon others than MINTON WARREN.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

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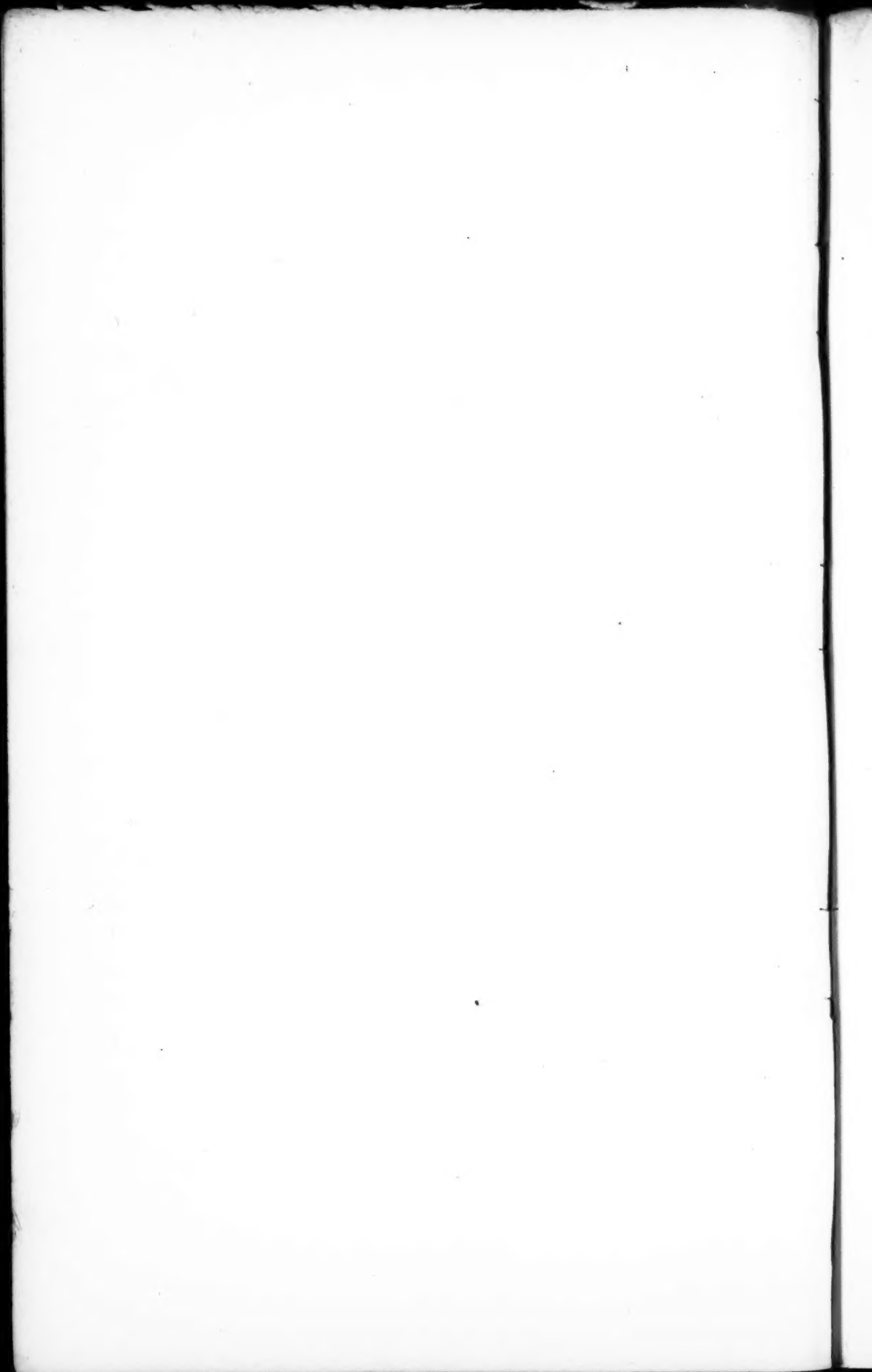
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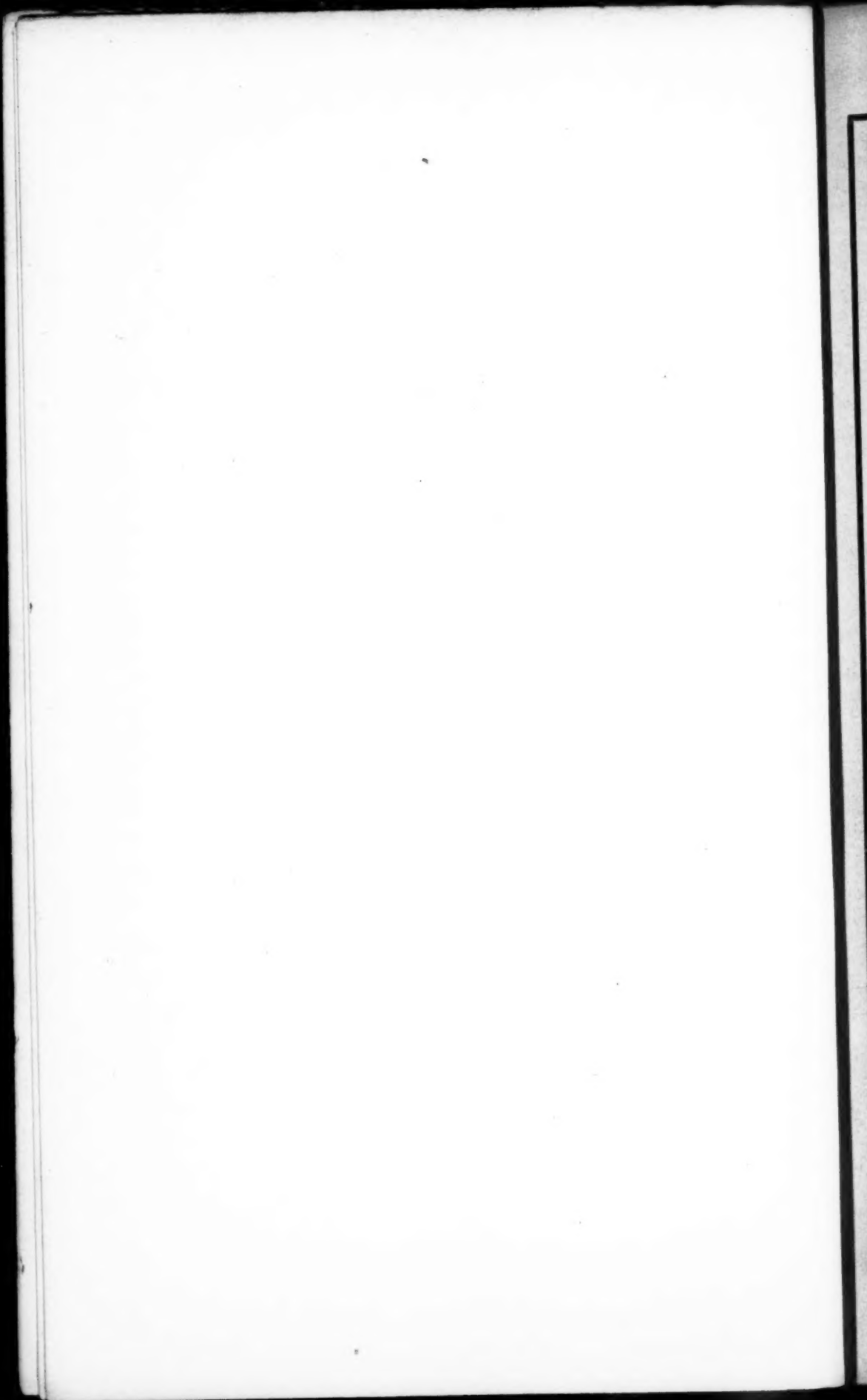
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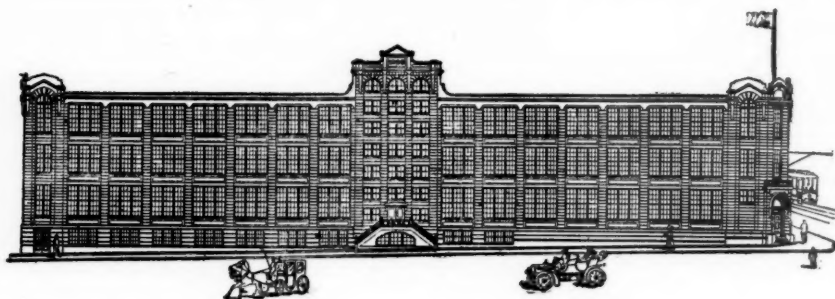
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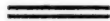
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